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ISOCRATES

I

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THREE VOLUMES

I

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PREFACE

The text of this edition is based on that of Baiter-Sauppe (Zürich, 1839), but advantage has been taken of the work of other, especially of later, editors. Minor changes have been made in the orthography. Important departures from the Baiter-Sauppe text are indicated in the foot-notes.

In the translation, the aim has been to produce a version at once faithful and readable. Occasionally the long sentences of Isocrates have been broken up into smaller units for the sake of clearness, but generally the sentence structure is deliberately preserved even in the face of the current English usage. It was not found possible, however, to carry over the Isocratean figures of language throughout without producing an effect in English so curious as to be un-Isocratean. It seemed more important to preserve the general tone and the rhythmical quality of the original.

I am under obligations to Mr. Floyd A. Spencer,

Associate Professor of Greek in Ohio Wesleyan University, and to Miss Maud E. Craig, Assistant Professor of Classics in the University of Colorado, for valuable assistance in the preparation of the first volume.

GEORGE NORLIN.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

At the age of ninety-seven, a year before his death, Isocrates published the *Panathenaicus*, one of the most ambitious of his discourses. He had been interrupted in the composition of it by a three years' illness, and it was only upon the urgency of his friends that he rose above his weakness and carried it through to completion.[a] It is not up to the level of his earlier work; his powers have manifestly declined; above all, the strong vanity of his artistic temperament,[b] whose frank expression elsewhere often offends the modern reader,[c] here falls into a senile querulousness as he sees the labours of his otherwise fortunate life failing of universal approval and acclaim.[d]

Yet the discourse is remarkable not so much for its senility as for its unflagging devotion to Athens. It is significant that the last discourse as well as the first great effort of his career, the *Panegyricus*, extols the noble history of the city of his fathers. Love of Athens is the one passion of his dispassionate

[a] *Panath.* 267 ff.

[b] Croiset, *Hist. de la Litt. Grecque*, iv. p. 466: "Avec l'esprit d'un artiste, il en a le caractère," etc.

[c] The ancients were tolerant of self-laudation. See Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, 25.

[d] *Panath.* 7 ff.

nature ; and second only to this is his love of Hellas. Or rather, both of these feelings are blended into a single passion—a worship of Hellenism as a way of life, a saving religion [a] of which he conceives Athens to be the central shrine [b] and himself a prophet commissioned by the gods [c] to reconcile the quarrels of the Greeks and unite them in a crusade against the barbarian world.

The course of events during the distressing period of history through which he lived accorded badly with his dreams. His own writings as well as those of his contemporaries reflect the fatal incapacity of the Greek city-state either to surrender any degree of its autonomy in the interest of a national unity or to leave inviolate the autonomy of other states. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, each in turn held for a time a place of supremacy only to provoke by aggression general hatred and rebellion. The several states came to feel more bitter against each other than against their common enemy, the Persian Empire, and did not scruple to court the favour and use the aid of the "Great King" in their selfish rivalries and wars.[d] Indeed, the hope of a united Hellas became more and more the shadow of a shadow, until at last all Greece, exhausted and demoralized by mutual warfare, submitted herself perforce to the leadership of Philip of Macedon.

Yet Isocrates never to the end of his life gave up his purpose,[e] and it was doubtless this disinterested enthusiasm for a great cause, together with unusual

[a] Croiset, *op. cit.* iv. p. 480 : "Une image idéale de la grandeur hellénique, une belle idole, à laquelle il rend un culte qui tient de la religion et de la poésie."

[b] *Paneg.* 50 ; *Antid.* 295-299.

[c] *Philip* 149.

[d] *Panath.* 158-160.

[e] See *Epist.* iii. 6.

"health of body and soul"[a] and a degree of philosophical detachment from the heat and dust of conflict, which extended the span of his life over a century of extraordinary vicissitudes and disenchantments.

Much of the tradition regarding his life must be received with caution. The formal biographies of him which have come down to us are late compilations[b] in which gossip is so confused with fact that we can safely credit them only when their statements are confirmed by his contemporaries or by Isocrates himself.[c]

He was born in 436 B.C., five years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and died in 338, after the battle of Chaeronea. He was one of five children—four boys and one girl. Of his mother we know only that her name was Heduto. His father, Theodorus, carried on a business in the manufacture of flutes, and was prosperous enough to perform expensive services for the state and to give his children a good education.[d] Isocrates says in the *Antidosis* that he himself had such advantages in this regard as to give him greater prominence among his fellow-students than he later enjoyed among his fellow-citizens.[e]

This little is all we know with certainty about his

[a] *Panath.* 7.

[b] That of Dionysius of Halicarnassus prefixed to his essay on Isocrates; that of Photius; that attributed to Plutarch, in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*; and the anonymous *Life*, sometimes attributed to Zosimus; also the article by Suidas. See Westermann, *Biographi Graeci*, pp. 245-259.

[c] Some of his works are largely autobiographical, especially the *Antidosis*, the *Panathenaicus*, and the letters.

[d] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. pp. 2, 3.

[e] *Antid.* 161.

formal training. We have from his biographers the tradition that he profited not only by the established education of the Athenian youth of his time but also by the new learning which the sophists had introduced as a preparation for citizenship and practical success.[a] Indeed, he is said to have gone to school to almost all of the professors of wisdom of his generation [b]—which can be true only in the sense that he made himself acquainted with all the intellectual forces which were stirring in his day and was stimulated by their influence.

He has, however, a rather clear relationship to two of the greatest teachers of this period. One of these was Gorgias of Leontini, the most renowned sophist of the rhetorical school, under whom it is likely that he was at one time a student.[c] Gorgias had visited Athens as a special ambassador from Leontini in 427, when Isocrates was a boy, and had then carried the Athenians off their feet by the brilliance of his oratory [d]—an oratory that was hardly prose but akin to poetry : rhythmical, ornate, and making its appeal, not to the intellect alone, but to the senses and the imagination as well. Later he spent some time in Athens, where his lectures were immensely popular.[e] Next we hear of him as the orator at the Olympic Festival of 408, pleading with the assembled Greeks to reconcile their quarrels and

[a] The term sophist had not until later times any invidious associations. It was applied indiscriminately to all professors of the new learning—lecturers on literature, science, philosophy, and particularly oratory, for which there was great demand in the democratic states.

[b] Jebb ii. p. 4.

[c] Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 14.

[d] Diodorus xii. 53.

[e] Plato, *Hippias major* 282 B.

unite in a war against the barbarians. Afterwards he settled down in Thessaly, where Isocrates is said to have heard his lectures.[a]

Isocrates was without doubt greatly influenced by Gorgias. He probably owes to his teaching and example the idea which he later made peculiarly his own, namely, that the highest oratory should concern itself with broad, pan-Hellenic themes, and that the style of oratory should be as artistic as that of poetry and afford the same degree of pleasure.[b]

But when we attempt to estimate definitely what he took from Gorgias in the matter of style we are on uncertain ground. The speeches of Gorgias, which startled his contemporaries, are lost, and we owe the fragments of them which we possess to the accident of their having been quoted to illustrate the extreme qualities of his rhetoric. If we may judge by these alone, his oratory sought to depart as far as possible from the language of common speech: it was as artificial as poetry and even more bold in its diction, its imagery, its figures, and its constant effort to strike the grand note; in fact, Gorgias attempted to be a Pindar or an Aeschylus in prose. His untamed rhetoric has its close analogue in the exuberant style of the Elizabethan Age, particularly that manifestation of it which is known as "Euphuism."[c] When Macbeth in Shakespeare says, "Our monuments shall be the maws of kites," he uses a daring phrase which might serve as a translation of a frag-

[a] Cicero, *Or.* 176.

[b] *Antid.* 46, 47.

[c] This is pointed out by Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, i. p. 478. Other scholars have actually held Gorgias and Isocrates responsible for Euphuism. See Whipple, "Isocrates and Euphuism" in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xi. p. 15.

ment of Gorgias;[a] and when Falstaff, primed with sack, harangues Prince Hal: "Now I do not speak to thee in drink but in tears; not in pleasure but in passion; not in words only but in woes also," his parody of "Euphues" is quite in the Gorgian manner, although it is, in fact, less extravagant than Gorgias himself could be. What, for example, could be more artificial than his "Shameful was your sowing, baneful was your reaping,"[b] in which we have not only poetic metaphor, alliteration, and balanced antithesis, but a close parallelism in sound—assonance—which is rare even in poetry?

Now Isocrates did not attempt the grand manner, and did, in fact, avoid the Gorgian excesses of style.[c] He uses the Gorgian antitheses both of language and of thought with better effect and with more concealing artifice; and he employs alliteration and assonance with greater continence.[d] He abstains even to excess from the language of metaphor, and he very seldom uses poetical or obsolete words or unusual compounds, confining himself rather to the words of current speech, using them with nice precision and combining them in a manner to produce an effect of dignity and of distinction. Blass quotes in illustration of this a sentence of the *Evagoras*: "He destroyed such numbers of the enemy in battle that many of the Persians, grieving for their own misfortunes, do not forget his valour," where the

[a] γῦπες ἔμψυχοι τάφοι.

[b] αἰσχρῶς μὲν ἔσπειρας, κακῶς δὲ ἐθέρισας.

[c] For the style of Isocrates see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 130 ff.; and Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 51 ff.

[d] He is most Gorgian in his *encomia* (Blass ii. p. 132) but less rhetorical in his later speeches.

difference between the language of Isocrates and a bald statement that he killed many of the Persians is a difference not of diction but of imagination.

While Gorgias relies for his effect upon striking words and phrases, Isocrates subordinates the individual words and clauses to a larger unity. He is an architect, looking to the effect of the whole edifice, not to that of single bricks or stones,[a] and taking infinite pains with composition—the smooth joining of part to part. He avoids studiously the clash of harsh consonants and all collocations of vowels at the end and the beginning of successive words—hiatus; and he has everywhere an ear sensitive to rhythms—not the exactly recurring rhythms of verse, but such as carry the voice buoyantly through the sentence upon wave after wave of sound without obtruding themselves upon the attention of the audience; for melody and rhythm are for Isocrates as important to artistic prose as to poetry.

The structural unit in Isocrates is the involved periodic sentence. This is extraordinarily long, sometimes occupying a page; often a half page; but it is so skilfully built that the parts in relation to each other and to the whole are easily grasped; for Isocrates, no matter how often he balances clause against clause to round out his period, is always clear. The reader, however, even while marvelling at the architecture, is apt at times to weary of it, especially when Isocrates is so concerned about the symmetry of the sentence that he weakens the thought by padding, and, in straining for the effect of amplitude, becomes diffuse and tedious.

He is no less careful in the transitions from sen-

[a] Demetrius, *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* 13.

tence to sentence and from division to division of the discourse : all is smooth and arranged according to plan. He does not dwell too long upon a single aspect of his subject, lest he fatigue the mind. He opens with a sort of prelude which is not too closely pertinent to the theme, and digresses judiciously for the sake of variety. But all the parts of the discourse are rigorously subordinated to the design of an organic whole.[a]

Thus Isocrates took from Gorgias a style which was extremely artificial and made it artistic. In so doing, he fixed the form of rhetorical prose for the Greek world, and, through the influence of Cicero, for modern times as well.[b] And if the style of Gorgias lost something of its brilliance and its fire in being subdued by Isocrates to the restraints of art, perhaps the loss is compensated by the serenity and dignity of that eloquence which Dionysius urged all young orators to study who are ambitious to serve the state in a large way,[c] and which Bossuet singled out as a model for the oratory of the Church.[d]

The other teacher who left his impress upon Isocrates was the philosopher Socrates. In the conversation at the close of Plato's *Phaedrus*, where Isocrates is mentioned as his "companion,"[e] Socrates speaks with warm admiration of his brilliant qualities, and prophesies a very distinguished future for him in the field of oratory, or in the field of philosophy should "some diviner impulse" lead him

[a] The *Panathenaicus* is an exception.

[b] See Jebb ii. pp. 68 ff.

[c] *Critique on Isocrates*, 4.

[d] See Havet, Introduction to Cartelier's translation of the *Antidosis*, p. lxxxvi. For the "noble tone" of Isocrates see Jebb ii. p. 42.

[e] ἑταῖρος.

in that direction. The passage indicates that there was at one time a close relationship between the young Isocrates and his teacher.[a] Nor is there any reason to doubt that Isocrates cherished throughout his life a warm feeling for the philosopher.[b] The studied effort with which he echoes the striking features of Socrates' defence in his own *apologia pro vita sua*—the *Antidosis*—is evidence enough of his high regard.[c] Furthermore, certain characteristics of his life and work reflect the influence of Socrates: his aloofness from public life;[d] his critical attitude toward the excesses of the Athenian democracy, and his hatred of demagogues;[e] his contempt for the sham pretensions of some of the sophists;[f] his logical clearness and his insistence on the proper definition of objectives and terms;[g] his prejudice against the speculations of philosophy on the origin of things as being fruitless;[h] his feeling that ideas are

[a] This is, however, debated. See Karl Münscher's excursus "Die Abfassungszeit des Phaidros" in his revision of Rauchenstein's *Ausgewählte Reden des Isocrates*, p. 187.

[b] The statement in [Plutarch] *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 838 F, that Isocrates grieved deeply over the death of Socrates and put on mourning for him is doubted, mainly on the ground of Isocrates' colourless reference to Socrates in *Busiris* 4. But his reference to Gorgias in *Antid.* 155 ff. is also uncoloured by any personal feeling.

[c] See *Antid.* 21, 27, 33, 89, 93, 95, 100, 145, 154, 179, 240, 321.

[d] In *Antid.* 150 he says that, while he performed all the public services required of him by Athens, he held no office, shared no emolument, and abstained from the privileges of the courts, preferring a life of peace and tranquillity.

[e] See especially the *Areopagiticus* and the *Peace*.

[f] *Panath.* 18; *Against the Sophists* 3.

[g] *Peace* 18; *Antid.* 217; *Epist.* vi. 7-9.

[h] *Antid.* 261, 268.

of value only as they can be translated into action, and that education should be practical and aim at right conduct in private and in public life ;[a] his rationalism in religion combined with acquiescence in the forms of worship ;[b] his emphasis upon ethics and his earnest morality—now the prudential morality of the Socrates of Xenophon, again the idealistic morality of the Socrates of Plato[c]—, all these he has in common with his master. If Gorgias intoxicated him with the possibilities of style, Socrates was a sobering influence and touched his life more deeply.

If we may rely upon the essential truth of the half-playful words of Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, two careers beckoned to one who possessed the genius and the promise of Isocrates—that of the orator and that of the philosopher. Each, however, at once attracted and repelled him. The one tended to plunge him into the conflict of practical politics from which his sensitive nature shrank ; the other led into the realm of pure ideas to which his practical sense attached no value. In the end he attempted to be a philosopher and a statesman in one, avoiding what he regarded as the extremes of both. He endeavoured to direct the affairs of Athens and of Greece without ever holding an office, and to mould public opinion without ever addressing a public assembly, by issuing from his study political pamphlets, or essays in oratorical form, in which he set forth the proper conduct of the Greeks in the light of broad ideas.

[a] *Antid.* 285.

[b] *Busiris* 24-27 ; *To Nicocles* 20 ; *Areop.* 29 ff.

[c] Compare *To Demonicus* and *To Nicocles* in general with *To Nicocles* 20 ; *Nicocles* 59 ; *Peace* 31-34 ; and *Antid.* 281, 282.

The result of this dwelling on the "borderland between politics and philosophy"[a] was not altogether happy for Isocrates. In the *Panathenaicus* we see a disappointed old man: he had been shut out from the fellowship of either camp; he had missed the zest of fighting, like Demosthenes, in the press of Athenian affairs, and he had been denied the consolation of retiring, like Plato, into a city of his dreams.

Isocrates usually gives as his excuse for remaining aloof from public life that he lacked the voice and the assurance which one had to possess in order to harangue the multitude and bandy words with the orators who haunt the rostrum.[b] But deeper than these physical handicaps which he might perhaps have overcome, even as Demosthenes is said to have risen above similar disabilities, lay the obstacle of his temperament—his "love of peace and the quiet life."[c]

Two activities were therefore open to his retiring nature—that of the writer and that of the teacher; and since the former was not more lucrative then than it commonly is to-day, there were reasons why he embraced them both. He tells us in the *Antidosis* that he lost in the Peloponnesian War all the property which his father had left to him, and that in order to repair his fortune he took pupils for pay.[d] In other words, he embarked on the career of a

[a] *μεθόρια φιλοσόφου τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ πολιτικοῦ*, Plato, *Euthydemus* 305 c. The nameless critic here described is undoubtedly Isocrates. See Thompson's essay on "The Philosophy of Isocrates and his Relation to the Socratic Schools" in his edition of the *Phaedrus*, p. 181.

[b] *Phil.* 81; *Panath.* 10; *Epist.* i. 9, viii. 7.

[c] *Antid.* 151.

[d] 161, 162.

sophist and opened a school. This was probably in the year 392.[a] Before this, however, must be placed the decade in his life [b] during which he wrote speeches for others to deliver in the law courts.[c] We cannot easily set aside the authority of Aristotle on this point and reject as spurious the six forensic speeches which are included in our manuscripts; [d] and when Isocrates appears to discredit this phase of his activity [e] and expresses repeatedly his contempt for this kind of writing, we must interpret his words to mean that he wishes this episode in his work to be forgotten, and that he dates his true career from the opening of his school.

Although Isocrates classes himself with the sophists, yet he sets himself sharply—and at times rancorously—apart from the other teachers of his age. He criticizes his rivals and praises his own system mainly in two of his essays: *Against the Sophists,* which he issued shortly after the opening of his school as an advertisement of his programme; and the *Antidosis,* which he published near the end of his career, forty years later, as "an image of his life and work."

He denies a high place in education to teachers

[a] Jebb ii. p. 8.

[b] The first of the forensic speeches is dated 403; the last, 393. See Jebb ii. p. 7. Jebb accepts the tradition of Isocrates' school in Chios and assigns it to the year 403; but this rests on the authority of a very careless statement of [Plutarch], and is regarded as very dubious by Blass, ii. p. 17.

[c] Every man was his own lawyer in the Athenian courts; and when he did not feel competent to prepare his own plea he paid a professional speech-writer, λογογράφος, to compose one for him.

[d] See Jebb ii. pp. 7, 8.

[e] *Antid.* 36.

of the definite sciences such as geometry and astronomy, on the ground that these subjects have no relation to practical life and are of value only for mental discipline—"a gymnastic of the soul."[a] Students do well to spend some time on them but only in order to train the mind for education of a greater and a more serious sort.[b] He attaches still less value to the speculative philosophers who concerned themselves with the nature of things; they disagree among themselves and prove the futility of searching for truth in such matters. Compare, for example, these contradictory views: "Anaxagoras maintained that the elements of being were infinite in number; Empedocles, that they were four; Ion, that they were three; Alcmaeon, that they were two; Parmenides, that they were one; and Gorgias, that they were none at all."[c] Such mental legerdemain may have its place, but it is barren of useful results, and no one should allow himself to be stranded on these subtleties.[d]

Isocrates is more severe in his strictures on the professors of a debased form of dialectic which he calls "eristic"—mere disputation for its own sake in the field of ethics.[e] They are impostors who make impossible promises. They profess to be masters of an absolute science of ethics and to be able to teach their students for a price—and a ridiculously low price at that—how to act rightly and be happy under all circumstances; whereas, in

[a] *Antid.* 262-266. [b] *Antid.* 265.

[c] *Antid.* 268, 269; *cf. Helen* 3.

[d] *Antid.* 268; *Panath.* 26-28.

[e] Isocrates makes no distinction between dialectic and eristic, but he refers under the latter term to such quibblers as are shown up in Plato's *Euthydemus*. See Blass ii. p. 23.

fact, our human nature is incapable of attaining to a science by which we can anticipate all future contingencies and so order our lives with prescience.[a] They pay no attention whatever to the practical virtues of private or of public life, but are mere quibblers who by their captious reasoning and sensational conclusions unsettle the minds of the young and undermine their characters.[b] At the best their teaching is useful only as sharpening the faculties of their students.[c]

He condemns no less roundly the sophists of the rhetorical school. They, like the eristics, are impostors who bring all sophists into disrepute;[d] they promise great things for a small price;[e] they pretend to aim at the truth but strive for sensational effects, displaying their power in their epideictic oratory by speaking on mythical or paradoxical themes which have no relation to truth or to life.[f] They profess, moreover, that they can make a good speaker of any one; that the art of oratory is easily acquired by learning, largely from example, a number of elements or commonplaces which may be put together, like the letters of the alphabet, into speeches appropriate and effective for any occasion; whereas, in fact, oratory is not something which may be learned by rote from a master, but is a creative art which requires of the student a vigorous and imaginative mind.[g] But the strongest objection to the professors of rhetoric is that they devote themselves mainly to the least reputable branch of oratory—

[a] *Against the Sophists* 1-3.
[b] *Helen* 6, 7.
[c] *Antid.* 261; *Panath.* 26, 27.
[d] *Against the Sophists* 11.
[e] *Against the Sophists* 9.
[f] *Helen* 8-13; *Panath.* 1.
[g] *Against the Sophists* 17 ff.

the forensic. This is practical; but because it deals with petty controversies, not with large ideas, it is narrow; and because it aims neither at truth nor at justice, it is both false and immoral.[a]

As to his own system of education, Isocrates contents himself largely with a broad sketch of his ideas, dropping only hints here and there as to the content or the method of his instruction. He commends the traditional elementary education of Athenian youth as a good gymnastic for the body and the mind.[b] He admits also that exercise in other disciplines, such as eristic, is of value, if not carried too far, as a preparation for greater and more serious studies.[c]

What, then, is the nature of his higher education? It consists, says Isocrates, in the cultivation of the art of discourse, *ἡ τῶν λόγων παιδεία*. This is a disappointing answer after we have listened to his diatribes on the inadequacy of other disciplines. We must, however, remind ourselves constantly in reading Isocrates that discourse, *λόγος*, is both the outward and the inward thought: it is not merely the form of expression, but reason, feeling, and imagination as well; it is that by which we persuade others and by which we persuade ourselves; it is that by which we direct public affairs and by which we set our own house in order; it is, in fine, that endowment of our human nature which raises us above mere animality and enables us to live the civilized life.[d] The art of discourse may, therefore, be as broad as the whole life of civilized man; and this is just what Isocrates

[a] *Against the Sophists* 19, 20. [b] *Panath.* 26.
[c] *Panath.* 26; *Antid.* 265; *Epist.* v. 3.
[d] *Antid.* 253-255.

insisted that it should be. He complains that it had been limited in its scope—confined to quarrels in the courts—and conceives it to be his business to deliver it from its narrow associations into the free atmosphere of great causes and large ideas. He himself chose, he says, to write discourses which were Hellenic in their breadth, dealing with the relations of states, and appropriate to be spoken at the pan-Hellenic assemblies; akin more to the literature which is composed in rhythm and set to music than to forensic oratory; setting forth facts in a style more imaginative and more ornate; employing thoughts which are more lofty and more novel; using figures of speech more freely and more boldly; and giving the same degree of pleasure as is afforded by poetry—discourses which are, moreover, further distinguished from the oratory of the court-room, which has to do with issues that to-day only are remembered and to-morrow forgotten, in that they treat of subjects of permanent interest and have, therefore, a value for all time.[a]

And it is oratory on this high plane, distinguished by breadth of view and nobleness of tone, by literary finish and charm, and by permanence of interest and value, which he proposes to cultivate in his students. They are to be led by their desire for praise and honour not to support causes which are unjust or petty, but those which are great and honourable, devoted to the general good and the welfare of mankind; and the effort which they make to write and speak on such themes will tend to liberate their minds from mean and selfish interests and so to ennoble their moral natures.[b]

[a] *Antid.* 46 ff.; *cf. Panath.* 2, 136, 271. [b] *Antid.* 270 ff.

Isocrates prides himself more upon the sound moral influence of his work and teaching than upon any other thing. The primary object of his instruction is right conduct in the man and in the citizen.[a] Indeed, there are times when he seems to think of his influence as expressing itself more worthily in action than in speech. He says in the *Panathenaicus* that he took greater pleasure in those of his students who were respected for the character of their lives and deeds than in those who were reputed to be able speakers; [b] and it is significant that the student in whom he took the greatest pride was Timotheus, the general, to whose character and work he pays a fine tribute in the *Antidosis*.[c]

The "culture" which Isocrates professed to impart was in one sense more narrow and in another more broad than the disciplines of other teachers. It was more narrow in that he disparaged all knowledge, or seeking after knowledge, which is not directly fruitful in practical conduct. He attaches no value to the theoretical or speculative ethics of the teachers of disputation, who disagree among themselves. He himself is content with a workable morality which is acknowledged by all men.[d] On the other hand, it was more broad in that he thought of it as embracing all of the relations of human existence. He criticizes the professors of the sciences and of the arts in general because they do not envisage the whole of life in their culture. Outside of the narrow fields of their specialties, they are less cultivated than their students; they are often lacking in self-discipline; they are boorish in their private relationships,

[a] *Antid.* 284.
[b] 87.
[c] 103 ff.
[d] *Antid.* 84.

and contemptuous of the opinion of their fellow-citizens.

"Whom," then, "do I call educated?" he asks. "First, those who manage well the circumstances which they encounter day by day, and who possess a judgement which is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action; next, those who are decent and honourable in their intercourse with all with whom they associate, bearing easily and good-naturedly what is unpleasant or offensive in others and being themselves as agreeable and reasonable to their associates as it is possible to be; furthermore, those who hold their pleasures always under control and are not unduly overcome by their misfortunes, bearing up under them bravely and in a manner worthy of our common nature; finally, and most important of all, those who are not spoiled by successes and do not desert their true selves and become arrogant, but hold their ground steadfastly as intelligent men, rejoicing no more in the good things which have come to them through chance than in those which through their own nature and intelligence are theirs from their birth. Those who have a character which is in accord, not with one of these things, but with all of them—these, I contend, are wise and complete men, possessed of all the virtues." [a]

In the *Antidosis*, especially, Isocrates terms his culture a "philosophy" and himself a "philosopher." [b] He does not disclaim the title of sophist, but seems to prefer the other as more descriptive of his work. The appropriation of this term has been imputed to him for arrogance, as if he wished to set himself up

[a] *Panath.* 28-32. [b] 270.

as a Plato or an Aristotle. However, the word has at this time no definite association with speculative or abstract thought, signifying only a lover of wisdom or a seeker after the cultivated life,[a] and is in fact more general and modest than the honourable title of sophist which the sham pretenders who called themselves sophists were only just beginning to make invidious. Indeed, the use of this term by Isocrates may be nothing more than a protest against the preposterous claims made by certain sophists for the omnipotence of their instruction. He himself, at any rate, admits that formal training plays a minor part in the making of a successful man : first and most important is native ability ; next is practice or experience, and last is education ; and no education amounts to anything which does not involve hard work on the part of the student himself.[b] Furthermore, Isocrates, unlike those of the sophists whom he scorns, does not claim for his discipline that it is a science which will enable one to know exactly how to act in all the contingencies and crises of life. All that education can do is to develop imaginative insight, sound opinion, power to judge probabilities and to hit the right course of action as each emergency arises. " For since it is not in the nature of man to attain a science by the possession of which we can know positively what we should do or what we should say, in the next resort I hold that man to be wise who is able by his powers of conjecture to arrive generally at the best course, and I hold that man to be a philosopher who occupies himself with studies

[a] See Plato, *Phaedrus* 278 D, and Thompson's note for the history of the words *φιλόσοφος* and *σοφιστής*.

[b] *Against the Sophists* 14, 15 ; *Antid.* 186-188.

from which he will most quickly gain that kind of insight." [a]

The success of his school was very great. Notwithstanding that he charged a high tuition fee,[b] Isocrates could boast that he had more students than all the other sophists put together and that he amassed from his teaching a considerable fortune,[c] although he spent more on public services to Athens than upon his own household.[d]

His first students were Athenians; but after the publication of the *Panegyricus*, in 380, his reputation spread gradually throughout Greece and attracted students from abroad. About this time, also, Athens rose to a position of power and influence as the head of the new naval confederacy, and was, furthermore, acknowledged to be the intellectual capital of the Greek world. "Athens," says Isocrates, "is looked upon as having become a school for the education of all able orators and teachers of oratory. And naturally so; for people observe that she holds forth the greatest prizes for those who have this ability and that she offers the greatest number and variety of fields of exercise to those who have chosen to enter contests of this character and want to train for them, and that, furthermore, everyone obtains here that practical experience which more than any other thing imparts ability to speak; and in addition to these advantages, they consider that the catholicity and moderation of our speech, as well as our flexibility of mind and our love of letters, con-

[a] *Antid.* 271; *cf.* 184; also *Panath.* 28-30; *Against the Sophists* 16; *Helen* 5.

[b] He is said to have charged 1000 drachmas for his course, Blass ii. p. 22.

[c] *Antid.* 39-41.

[d] *Antid.* 158.

tribute in no small degree to the education of the orator." [a]

Isocrates, says Dionysius, was the most illustrious teacher of his time and made his school the "image of Athens." The ablest young men of Athens and of Hellas came to study under him, and went out from his tutelage to become leaders in their various fields—oratory, history, and statesmanship.[b] Among his students were the orators Isaeus, Lycurgus, and Hypereides; the historians Ephorus and Theopompus; the philosopher Speusippus; and the statesman and general Timotheus. And few if any of the literary men of his age, whether or not they were members of his school, were unaffected by his influence.[c]

Some of his students remained with him for three or four years, and seem to have retained for the master a strong feeling of affection as well as of high regard.[d] One of them, Timotheus, who exemplified in his life the doctrines of Isocrates,[e] set up a statue at Eleusis bearing the inscription: "Timotheus dedicates this statue of Isocrates . . . to the goddesses of the temple, in token of his affection for the man and of his respect for his wisdom." [f]

Isocrates must have been throughout his life much occupied with his school. He was, however, given to hard work,[g] and found time and energy for a

[a] *Antid.* 295-296; *cf.* 299, and *Paneg.* 50.

[b] *Critique on Isocrates* i.; *cf.* Cicero, *De orat.* ii. 94: "ecce tibi exortus est Isocrates . . . cuius e ludo tamquam ex equo Troiano meri principes exierunt." *Cf.* the similar claim made by Isocrates himself, *Epist.* iv. 2.

[c] Jebb ii. p. 13. [d] *Antid.* 87, 88. [e] Blass ii. p. 52.

[f] [Plutarch], *Lives of the Orators*, 838 D. [g] *Panath.* 267.

literary career. He called his writings orations, but they are such only in the sense that they are invested with the form and the atmosphere of oratory. He, himself, never delivered a speech, and few of his discourses were written for delivery.[a] He was in reality a political pamphleteer, and has been called the first great publicist of all time. We must, however, guard against the implications of such modern terms. There was nothing about him of the facile journalist, nor was his writing ephemeral in its purpose or its character. He is said to have spent ten years in writing the *Panegyricus*—which is no doubt merely an exaggeration of the fact that he wrote slowly and with infinite pains. He believed that he was composing literature of permanent interest and value, and time has justified his faith.

His works will be described in some detail in the introductions to his several discourses, and it must suffice here to review them briefly.[b] Twenty-one discourses and nine letters, most of them complete,[c] are extant, and all of these are probably genuine.[d] The excellent preservation of his text bears witness to the importance attached to him in antiquity, and we may be fairly sure that practically all of his writings are preserved to us, especially since we find in ancient literature reference to but one lost work—his *Art of Rhetoric*.

[a] The forensic speeches and possibly the *Plataicus*. See Jebb ii. p. 176.

[b] Jebb's treatment of them, ii. pp. 76 ff., is excellent. His classification is followed here.

[c] We have only the introduction to the speech *Against the Sophists*, and the letters are most of them incomplete.

[d] *To Demonicus* and *Against Euthynus* are thought by some to be spurious.

Six of his discourses are forensic speeches : *Against Lochites*, the *Aegineticus*, *Against Euthynus*, the *Trapeziticus*, the *Span of Horses*, and the *Callimachus*. They were his earliest efforts, which in later life he appears to disown as unworthy of him.

Three are " hortatory " : *To Demonicus*, *To Nicocles*, and *Nicocles or the Cyprians*. These are treatises on ethics, and are interesting as reflecting the practical morality of the times as well as the more advanced ideas of Isocrates.

Three are encomia, belonging to the " epideictic " or display type of oratory : the *Busiris*, the *Helen*, and the *Evagoras*. Of these, the *Busiris* and the *Helen* are half-serious attempts to treat mythological themes—of which he generally disapproves—in a manner to convey some useful lesson. To the epideictic class is assigned also the *Panathenaicus*, although its contents are such as would justify our placing it quite as properly among his educational or his political works.

Two are essays on education : *Against the Sophists* and the *Antidosis*, in which he criticizes other disciplines and commends his own.

Six are distinctly political, having to do with governments and policies—mainly Athenian—in their external as well as internal relationships : the *Panegyricus*, the *Philip*, the *Plataicus*, the *Peace*, the *Archidamus*, and the *Areopagiticus*.

There are also nine letters : to *Dionysius*, two to *Philip*, to *Antipater*, to *Alexander*, to the *Sons of Jason*, to *Timotheus*, to the *Rulers of Mytilene*, and to *Archidamus*. These are for the most part less personal than general in tone and subject matter, and might be classed with his political writings.

It is in his political discourses that Isocrates finds the truest expression of himself, and it is upon them that he rests his fame—and rightly so. They are unquestionably distinguished among the political writings of his time for breadth of view and nobleness of tone.[a] They transport the reader from the narrow circle of parochial existence into the generous atmosphere of a pan-Hellenic world; they are, as he says, "Hellenic and deal in a large way with the relations of states." Even when he seeks to persuade Athens to a sound policy in her domestic affairs, he does so in the hope that she may be strong to help the weaker states and play an honourable and saving rôle in the affairs of Greece.[b] He is a loyal Athenian—and no one can doubt his patriotism—but his sympathies embrace all Hellas. In his letter to the Rulers of Mytilene he says: "While my lack of voice and of assurance have kept me out of public speaking and active politics, I have, nevertheless, not been altogether useless nor unknown to fame; you will find that I have counselled and supported by my own efforts the orators who have been minded to speak for your good and for the good of our other allies, and that I have myself composed more speeches in the cause of the freedom and autonomy of the Hellenes than all the ranters of the platform." [c]

"Freedom and Autonomy"—the catch-words of Greek politics—are as precious to Isocrates as to any other. He differs from his contemporaries only

[a] See Dionysius, *Critique on Isocrates* 3: *θαυμαστὸν γὰρ δὴ καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς Ἰσοκράτους κατασκευῆς ὕψος, ἡρωϊκῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως οἰκεῖον.*

[b] See Jebb ii. p. 41.

[c] *Epist.* viii. 7.

in cherishing these ideals for all the cities of Hellas. Aggression—the passion to dominate—he regards as the disease of Greek foreign policy, resulting soon or late in weakness or disaster. He accepts the recognized law of Greek ethics, that power begets folly, folly begets insolence, and insolence begets ruin, and shows that it operates even more surely in the history of states than in the lives of individuals;[a] for a man may offend and die before paying the penalty, but states, which live for ever, may not escape its workings.[b] Irresponsible power is like the bait of a trap: those who are lured by it are caught in its toils;[c] or it is like a courtesan: those who are enamoured of it are led to their ruin.[d] Imperialism has, in fact, been the curse of Athens, its only fruits being hatred, wars, and an empty treasury.[e]

Sophrosynē, self-control—the disposition to live and let live, to cherish freedom for oneself and respect freedom in others—is the saving virtue of states no less than of men in their relations to each other.[f] The Athenians and the Spartans of old, before they lusted for empire, practised it and were the benefactors of Greece. "They treated the Hellenes with consideration and not with insolence, deeming it their right to take command in the field but not to tyrannize over them, desiring rather to be addressed as leaders than as masters, and rather to be greeted as saviours than to be reviled as destroyers; they won the Hellenic cities to themselves by doing kindness instead of subverting them by force, keeping their word more faithfully than

[a] *Areop.* 4. [b] *Peace* 120. [c] *Peace* 34.
[d] *Peace* 103. [e] *Peace* 29. [f] *Peace* 119 ff.

men now keep their oaths, and considering it to be their duty to abide by their covenants as by the decrees of necessity; they exulted less in the exercise of power than they gloried in living with self-control, thinking it proper to feel toward the weaker as they expected the stronger to feel toward themselves; and while they regarded their home cities as their several places of abode, yet they considered Hellas to be their common fatherland." [a]

It was this spirit which Isocrates sought to call back into the life of his generation as a means of putting an end to the feuds which were tearing Hellas to pieces and exhausting her vitality. He had no thought of merging the individuality or the independence of the Greek states in the sovereignty of a Greek empire, but had rather in mind the Delian League in its early days before Athens had turned it into an empire maintained by force; and what he dreamed of was a great confederacy of free states voluntarily united under a single leadership, in the cause of a final and decisive war against their common enemy, the Persian Empire—"the only war that is better than peace: more like a sacred mission than a military expedition." [b]

In advocating this crusade, he was not actuated alone by racial prejudice. In a very celebrated passage of the *Panegyricus* he seems to conceive of Hellenism as a brotherhood of culture, transcending the bounds of race. "So far has Athens distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who

[a] *Paneg.* 80, 81. [b] *Paneg.* 182.

share our culture than to those who share a common blood."[a] If, then, he thinks of a war of all Greeks against the barbarians as a sacred duty, it is because he believes that civilization in order to survive must be a militant force. Hellenism was an outpost of culture, a lamp to be kept burning amid the surrounding darkness;[b] and ever at the door of Greece was Asia—sinister, threatening. "Isocrates saw that the inevitable quarrel between Europe and Asia which had existed from the 'Trojan War' was the great abiding fact; he foresaw that it must soon come to an issue, and throughout the later period of his long life he was always watching for the inevitable day."[c]

The remarkable thing is, not that Isocrates should have conceived this idea, but that in spite of rebuffs and discouragements he should have clung to it with such tenacity. Others had held it before him: Gorgias had made it the theme of his oration at the Olympic Festival in 408, and Lysias in 384; moreover, the shame of the "King's Peace"[d] was felt generally in Greece, and there was much irresponsible talk of a united campaign to deliver the Greeks in Europe from Persian interference and the Asiatic Greeks from Persian rule.[e] With Isocrates, however, it was something more than an idea; it was, as we have seen, a religious principle, to which he dedicated his unremitting zeal. "I might justly be praised by

[a] 50.

[b] See the contrast between civilization and barbarism drawn in *Evagoras* 47 ff.

[c] Bury, *History of Greece*, ii. p. 301.

[d] The Peace of Antalcidas, 387, which had been dictated by the Persian King, surrendered the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast to Persian rule and conceded the right of the King to interfere in the relations of all Greek states.

[e] Diodorus xv. 9, 19. See also *Paneg.* 15.

all," he says, " because throughout my whole life I have constantly employed such powers as I possess in warring on the barbarians, in condemning those who oppose my plan, and in striving to arouse to action whoever I think will best be able to benefit the Hellenes in any way or rob the barbarians of their prosperity." [a]

Two of his longer discourses are devoted entirely to this subject: the *Panegyricus*, published about 380, and the *Address to Philip*, about 346. To read them side by side apart from their historical setting is to be impressed by their disharmony. The *Panegyricus* draws a noble picture of Athens as the mother of civilization and of free institutions, and rests on this her claim to take the lead in a campaign against the barbarians.[b] The *Address to Philip* calls upon the King of Macedon, an absolute ruler of an uncultivated race, whom Demosthenes denounced as a barbarian and an enemy of Greece, to undertake what Isocrates now conceives that neither Athens nor any other Greek state can do—to reconcile the quarrels of Greece and lead her against the common enemy.[c] Furthermore, the *Panegyricus* is an appeal to the mind of all Hellas. The title itself, which Isocrates chose, implies that he is following the tradition of Gorgias and Lysias by composing a speech suitable for a pan-Hellenic gathering. In the *Address to Philip* he has evidently lost confidence in such appeals. " Those who desire," he says, " to

[a] *Phil.* 130.

[b] In the *Panegyricus* Isocrates seems at first to be thinking of a dual leadership—a concession to the fact that Sparta was then the first power in Greece, but his real purpose is to prove the right of Athens to the hegemony, as he himself states in the *Antidosis* 57-58.

[c] *Philip* 41.

further some practical purpose and those who think that they have hit upon some plan for the common good must leave it to others to harangue at the public festivals, but must themselves win over some-one to champion their cause from among men who are capable not only of speech but of action, and who occupy a high position in the world." [a] In other words, he rests his hope, no longer on the collective wisdom of free commonwealths, but on a strong man, unfettered by constitutional limitations.[b]

This is a change in the point of view of Isocrates which has prejudiced his reputation in modern times.[c] He has been denounced as a traitor to Greece or pitied as a doddering old man.[d] Even Havet, who in his admirable essay on Isocrates is most sympathetic, complains that the lofty tone which elsewhere permeates his writings is lacking in the *Address to Philip*.[e]

Perhaps the explanation of the change may be found in the thirty-four years of history which elapsed between the publication of the two discourses. Not long after the *Panegyricus* was published, the views of Isocrates seem to have borne fruit in the organization of the new naval league under the leadership of Athens, in the year 378.[f] This was a voluntary association of free states, and gave promise at the

[a] *Phil.* 13. [b] *Phil.* 14, 15.

[c] The criticism begins with Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, ii. p. 73, whose abuse of Isocrates is so extreme as to be almost amusing.

[d] "Great and melancholy indeed is the change which has come over the old age of Isocrates," Grote, *History of Greece* (new edition), xi. p. 241. (Isocrates is now ninety years old.)

[e] Introduction to Cartelier's *Antidosis*, pp. xlv, lix.

[f] Kessler, *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee*, p. 24.

beginning of steering clear of the rocks of imperialism upon which the old confederacy of Delos had gone to pieces. "But," complains Isocrates, "Athens cared less for my advice than for the rantings of the platform orators"; [a] the same mistakes were made as in the old confederacy; and the bright promise of the League ended in the wretched fiasco of the so-called Social War (357–355 B.C.)—a period of such demoralizing strife that Isocrates prefers to it the shameful Peace of Antalcidas.[b]

This is a disconcerting period for lovers of democracy, and Isocrates' writings during this time, especially the *Peace*, the *Areopagiticus*, and the letter to *Archidamus*, reveal the disenchantment which he himself experienced. He had been, unlike many of the intellectuals of his age, a pronounced believer in democracy,[c] and as late as 359 he wrote in one of his letters [d] that "the life of a private man seemed to him better than that of a king, and the honours of a free state sweeter than those of a monarchy." But while he reaffirms his faith in a democratic ideal [e] even in the discourses which belong to this period, it seems clear that he considers the Athenian state as it then was in practice, where, he complains, "insolence is regarded as democracy, lawlessness as liberty, impudence of speech as equality, and the licence to do whatever one likes as happiness," [f] to be a caricature of what a democracy should be.

[a] *Phil.* 129. [b] *Peace* 16.

[c] See a very full discussion of this subject by Havet, *op. cit.* pp. xxvii ff. and xl. [d] *Epist.* vi. 11.

[e] He idealizes the democracy of Solon and Cleisthenes, in which a sovereign people chose and submitted themselves to the best leaders—an aristocracy in effect. *Areop.* 20-27.

[f] *Areop.* 20. *Cf. Panath.* 131.

At any rate, such a state was, in his mind, in no position to adopt and carry out any sound principle of foreign policy.[a] On the contrary, the Athenians were in this regard like freebooters, living from hand to mouth: now surfeited with plenty; now in extremity of want;[b] impoverished by war, yet conceiving war to be the only means of enriching themselves;[c] ready to listen to any demagogue who called them to arms,[d] no matter against whom,[e] yet unwilling themselves to train or make sacrifices for war, but hiring to do their fighting for them mercenaries who turned out to be worse than brigands in the atrocities they perpetrated upon friends and foes alike.[f]

These are harsh words, and unjust to Athens;[g] but even when full allowance is made for rhetorical exaggeration, they show at least that Isocrates had been disillusioned as to the powers of a pure democracy to manage a great military undertaking, and that it was not without good reason that he turned elsewhere to get support for his idea.[h]

It was in the midst of the Social War, about 356, that he wrote his letter to the young Archidamus, who was shortly to succeed his father, Agesilaus, on

[a] *Areop.* 12. [b] *Peace* 90.
[c] *Areop.* 54; *Peace* 46. [d] *Peace* 1-6.
[e] *Peace* 44. [f] *Peace* 44; *Epist.* ix. 9, 10.
[g] Holm, in his history of this period, warns us against taking at their face value the pictures painted by Isocrates and Demosthenes of the degeneration of the Athenian democracy in the fourth century. See *History of Greece*, iii. chap. 13 and notes.
[h] For the general trend of opinion at this time in favour of monarchy see Jebb ii. pp. 21 ff., who emphasizes the fact that Isocrates and Aristotle were of one mind regarding Macedonian leadership.

the throne of Lacedaemon.[a] He pictures to him with very strong feeling the universal wretchedness of Greece, in which " no region can be found which does not groan with wars and factions and slaughters and evils untold " ; and he calls upon Archidamus, who had apparently inherited his father's dream of

[a] It is generally believed that Isocrates' first overture to any person in this matter was to Dionysius, the elder, tyrant of Syracuse. So Jebb ii. p. 240, who says that Isocrates expressly states in his *Address to Philip*, 8 (Jebb has in mind 81, not 8, which is probably a misprint) that he had made the same appeal to Dionysius. But all that Isocrates states here is that he is repeating to Philip the reasons which he had given to Dionysius for not taking part in public life. The fragment of the letter to Dionysius shows only that Isocrates appealed to him to perform " some service " for the good of Greece. It is extremely unlikely that he should have appealed to Dionysius, who was so occupied with his own problems in the far west, to head the expedition against Persia. The only definite evidence on this point is that of the 30th " Socratic Letter," attributed to Speusippus, which states that the discourse which Isocrates sent to Philip had been written first for Agesilaus, then revised slightly and " sold " to Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, and finally had been revised still further and palmed off on Alexander of Thessaly. (See Blass ii. pp. 89, 293.) If we are to treat this hopelessly inaccurate statement at all seriously, we must assume that it confuses Agesilaus with his son Archidamus, and Alexander with Jason of Pherae, whom Isocrates represents in his *Address to Philip* as " talking of " an expedition against Persia, although there is no evidence whatever that Isocrates ever addressed a formal discourse to Jason on this subject. But if we substitute Archidamus for Agesilaus, then the Dionysius to whom, according to Speusippus, Isocrates next turned cannot be Dionysius the elder to whom the letter of Isocrates, of which we possess the introduction, was addressed, for he was dead long before Isocrates wrote to Archidamus. Obviously, the letter is worthless as evidence on this point.

carrying the war into Asia and setting Hellas free, to undertake this mission of deliverance.[a]

It is doubtful, however, whether this appeal was much more than the outpouring of a desperate mood to a sympathetic friend, since Archidamus, before and after he succeeded to the kingship, found himself fully occupied with pressing affairs at home. It was with greater hope that, ten years later, Isocrates turned to Philip of Macedon as a man capable of carrying out so great an enterprise. Philip had announced his ambition to be "captain-general of Hellas in a war against the Persians";[b] he had by this time proved those qualities of leadership which made him one of the great figures of history; he had by his growing power induced Athens to conclude a ten years' state of war by the "Peace of Philocrates," and, shortly after the publication of Isocrates' address to him, he was elected a member of the Amphictyonic Council and given the presidency of the Pythian Games—a signal recognition of his paramount influence in Greek affairs. He was, in fact, the strongest man in Europe and commanded the greatest resources.[c]

It is clear that Isocrates had a great admiration for him. He believed that he was at heart friendly to Athens, and he had consistently urged Athens to cultivate friendly relations with him.[d] He regarded him as a pure Hellene of the line of Heracles,[e] as a man of education and culture,[f] and as a lover of Hellas with high ideas and broad vision[g]—a judge-

[a] *Epist.* ix. 8 ff.

[b] Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. p. 245; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, p. 97; Diodorus xvi. 60.

[c] *Philip* 137; *cf.* 15.

[d] *Peace* 22.

[e] *Philip* 76; 32-34; 105.

[f] *Philip* 29.

[g] *Philip* 132.

ment in which Isocrates is, in the main, supported by those historians whose views of this period are not echoed from the orations of Demosthenes.[a] Furthermore, he thought that Philip was in an unique position to champion the cause of all Hellas; other Greeks were too much identified with their own states; they were restricted by local patriotism and by the bonds of local polities and laws: "you," he says to Philip, "are privileged, as one who has been blessed with untrammelled freedom, to consider all Hellas your fatherland, as did the father of your race, and to be ready to brave perils for her sake."[b]

It is true that the lofty tone of the *Panegyricus* is absent from the *Address to Philip*. Isocrates had dreamed that Athens, the author of Greek civilization, should be the leader in its militant triumph; and he could not with the same enthusiasm give to another the place which he had reserved for her.[c] But he was giving up nothing more than his local sentiment and pride. Philip was to be conceded the hegemony only; he was to be the leader of a confederacy of free states. There was not now in Isocrates' mind any more than when he wrote the *Panegyricus* any thought of surrendering the independence of Greek states to an imperial power.[d]

It turned out somewhat differently. Demosthenes and the war party in Athens prevailed, and forced the issue with Philip; the result was the battle of Chaeronea and the subjection by force of the

[a] Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. chap. 19; Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. chap. 6; Hogarth, *Philip* and *Alexander of Macedon*.

[b] *Philip* 127.

[c] See the tone of *Philip* 129.

[d] See Jebb ii. pp. 21 ff.

Greek states to the overlordship of the Macedonian king.[a]

Isocrates was no doubt oppressed by what he must have regarded as the useless slaughter at Chaeronea. But the tradition that he committed suicide on hearing that Philip had won the battle, made familiar through Milton's lines :

> As that dishonest victory
> At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
> Killed with report that old man eloquent,[b]

is so improbable on the face of it and so in conflict with trustworthy evidence that it must be set down as fable.[c] Isocrates did not look upon the battle as an unmixed evil, but as a final clash between the ambitions of individual states to be free to quarrel among themselves and the larger purpose of Philip to unite and lead them against Persia.[d] Nor could he have felt that Chaeronea was in any peculiar sense "fatal to liberty"; for the downfall of "freedom and autonomy" dates, not from this event, but from the Peace of Antalcidas, which not only surrendered Greek territory to Persian rule but conceded the right of the Persian king to dictate the relations of the Greek states generally.[e] Philip succeeded to

[a] See Holm iii. p. 280: "If the Greeks had honestly thrown in their lot with Philip and Alexander in the spirit of Isocrates, they would have reaped the advantage of victory over Asia without the disadvantage of Macedonian rule over Greece."

[b] 10th *Sonnet*.

[c] The third letter in our collection, written to Philip *after the peace* which followed the battle of Chaeronea, is now generally accepted as genuine.

[d] *Epist.* iii. 2.

[e] See *Paneg.*, especially 115-121, 175-180; and Ferguson's admirable summary of the facts in his *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 6.

the overlordship of a barbarian despot, and Philip was at least a Greek who purposed to champion Hellenism.

It would be interesting to know what Isocrates thought when the Athenians, in gratitude for the generous terms of peace which Philip made with them after his victory, elected him to citizenship and set up his statue in the market-place.[a] Isocrates himself, in the letter which he then wrote to him—the last of his compositions—speaks with a dignified reserve. There is no longer need, he says, to talk of reconciling the Greek states; they must now perforce submit to your purpose. It remains for you not to neglect the great cause but to carry it out. I do not know whether I won you over to this purpose or whether you yourself conceived it and I merely supported you in your desires; although I am inclined to think (he says politely) that it was your idea from the first. But I am grateful to my old age for this one thing—that I have lived long enough to see the dreams which have been in my mind from my youth, and which I have tried to write down in the *Panegyricus* and in the discourse addressed to you, now coming true in part through your deeds and destined, I hope, to come entirely true.

The question of the practical effect of Isocrates upon the course of events in his time is a matter of controversy, the evidence being purely circumstantial. It has been almost a fashion since Niebuhr to divorce him entirely from history and to dismiss him as a sort of dreamer in the desert. He was undoubtedly an idealist who was far in advance of

[a] Holm iii. p. 282.

his age ;[a] but to deny that he had any shaping influence upon contemporary history is to impeach the judgement of antiquity. He exercised a strong influence through his school ; he was an outstanding publicist whose writings were widely read throughout Greece ; he was on terms of friendship with many of the leading men of his time ; he was the chief advocate of the pan-Hellenic idea, and as such was the spokesman for a considerable group of thinking men. It is true that in the last words which he wrote he gives Philip full credit for his resolution to captain the Greeks in a crusade against the barbarians, and assigns to himself the minor rôle of supporting Philip in his design ; but if this statement is to be interpreted as anything more than a pleasant courtesy—if, that is to say, we take the view that the life-work of Isocrates has no real connexion with the enterprise which Philip undertook and Alexander carried out—then the close correspondence which exists between the rather definite programme which Isocrates lays down (first in the *Panegyricus* and later in the *Address to Philip*), and the articles of confederation which were adopted at the Congress of Corinth one year after the battle of Chaeronea, by which the Greek states bound themselves to unite in a war against Persia under

[a] See Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. p. 300 : " Neither Demosthenes, the eloquent orator, nor Eubulus, the able financier, saw far into the future. The only man of the day, perhaps, who grasped the situation in its ecumenical aspect, who descried, as it were from without, the place of Macedonia in Greece and the place of Greece in the world, was the nonagenarian Isocrates." See also Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, iii. p. 159.

the leadership of the king of Macedon, is the most remarkable coincidence of history.[a]

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The most important are the following, according to Drerup, who has described one hundred and twenty-one mss. and ten papyri of Isocrates (Introduction to his critical edition, pp. iv-cxiv):

Urbinas III. (Γ), late 9th or early 10th century A.D., contains all the orations except *Against Callimachus* and *Against Euthynus*; and all the letters. There are corrections by five hands ($Γ_1$, $Γ_2$, etc.) in the text in minuscules, and by one hand (Γ marg.) in the margin in uncials.

Vaticanus 936 (Δ), 14th cent., contains all the orations except *Against Callimachus*, *Against Euthynus*, and *On The Span of Horses*; and all the letters.

Ambrosianus O 144 (E), 15th cent., same contents as Δ. This ms. was once greatly valued, before either Γ or Δ had been worked over.

Laurentianus lxxxvii. 14 (Θ), 13th cent., contains eleven orations: *Helen*, *Evag.*, *Busir.*, *Paneg.*, *Areop.*, *Plataic.*, *Archid.*, *Against Soph.*, *Philip*, *Panath.*, *Antid.*, but none of the letters.

Vaticanus 65 (Λ), 1063 A.D., contains all the orations, but none of the letters.

Parisinus 2932 (Π), 15th cent., contains life of Isocrates and "hypotheses" to the orations; thirteen of the orations: *To Dem.*, *To Nicocl.*, *Nicocl.*, *Paneg.*, *Helen*, *Evag.*, *Busir.*,

[a] For the articles of the treaty see Grote, *History of Greece*, xi. p. 340; and for a detailed comparison of these articles with the programme of Isocrates see Kessler, *Isokrates und die panhellenische Idee*, pp. 73 ff.

Against Soph., *Plataic.*, *Areop.*, *Philip*, *Peace*, *Archid.*; but none of the letters.

Scaphusianus 43 (Z), 15th cent., contains twelve orations: *To Dem.*, *To Nicocl.*, *Nicocl.*, *Paneg.*, *Helen*, *Evag.*, *Busir.*, *Against Soph.*, *Plataic.*, *Areop.*, *Philip*, *Peace*. Valuable especially for the text of *To Demonicus*.

The Egyptian papyri also contribute something to the elucidation of the text, being helpful especially in enabling us to judge the comparative authority of the MSS. There are ten of these papyri (Drerup, pp. iv-viii), but only three contain more than short fragments: Papyrus Londinensis, 1st cent. A.D., which contains the *Peace* from § 13 to the close; Papyrus Massiliensis, 4th or 5th cent. A.D., which contains *To Nicocles*, 1-30; and Papyrus Berolinensis, 2nd cent. A.D., containing *To Demonicus* from § 18 to the close.

All of the MSS. fall into two main groups. The first group is composed of Γ and its descendants, Δ and E. The second is made up of the many manuscripts of the vulgate line, of which there are two main branches. The first branch is represented by Θ, which stands alone, having no progeny among surviving MSS., save that the corrections in the fourth and fifth hands ($Γ_4$ $Γ_5$) of Γ are drawn mainly from this source. The second branch of the vulgate line again divides into two: the earlier, which is represented by Λ and its numerous descendants; the later, which is represented best by Π, which appears to stem from a copy of the archetype of Λ.

Of the vulgate tradition, Λ, the earliest manuscript, is by far the best, and formed, mainly, the basis for the earlier editions of Isocrates, notably that of Coray. This tradition is, however, contaminated by interlinear and marginal notes which had been written upon some antecedent manuscript, and which crept into the body of the text itself (see Baiter and Sauppe's edition, Preface, p. 11).

The discovery of Urbinas Γ by Bekker—a manuscript free from this contamination—enabled scholars to restore, with great probability, the original Isocrates. In fact, the publication of Bekker's *Oratores Attici* in 1822, in

which his text of Isocrates follows very largely the authority of Γ, marks a new era in the text criticisms of Isocrates; for it is now generally agreed that Urbinas Γ is the most trustworthy of all the MSS. (Drerup, p. lxv).

Following Bekker, but relying even more than he on the authority of Γ, Baiter and Sauppe published in 1839 their edition of Isocrates, which is to this day the most conservative text which we possess of all the works of Isocrates (Drerup, p. clxxxiii).

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I. TO DEMONICUS

INTRODUCTION

The author of the Greek "hypothesis" to this discourse, preserved in two of the mss., mentions a tradition that Hipponicus, the father of Demonicus and friend of Isocrates, was a Cyprian.[a] If this is true, then *To Demonicus*, like *To Nicocles*, *Nicocles or the Cyprians*, and *Evagoras*, is a result of Isocrates' associations with the island of Cyprus, and may be grouped with his "Cyprian" orations. In any case it seems to belong to the same period as the discourses written for Nicocles, the young Cyprian king: 374–372 B.C.[b]

The "hypothesis" dates, however, from the fourth century A.D., and its authority is, therefore, open to question; all that we know with certainty is what we can infer from the discourse itself: that Demonicus lived in a monarchy, that he was young, and that his father, Hipponicus, recently dead, was a man of note, of exemplary character, and a friend of Isocrates.

The *Address to Demonicus* is classed with the two following discourses as a treatise on practical ethics, being made up of precepts on the proper conduct of life.[c] These fall roughly into three main divisions: (1) man in his relation to the gods; (2) in his rela-

[a] Ἱππόνικός τις, ὡς ἔχει ὁ πολὺς λόγος, Κύπριος μὲν ἦν τῷ γένει.

[b] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. 80.

[c] See General Introduction, p. xxxi.

tion to men, including society in general, especially parents and friends ; (3) in relation to himself—the harmonious development of his own character.

Yet the treatise lacks unity in that these precepts are rather loosely put together in the manner of the "gnomic" literature of the time, the body of the discourse being in fact a string of detached maxims[a] in which the author's personal admonitions are mingled with maxims drawn from other sources, mainly from Theognis and the other gnomic poets, the sayings of the "Seven Sages," and the homely preachings of Socrates.[b]

But there is lacking not only unity of form but unity of spirit. Shrewd advice for getting on in this workaday world is imperfectly harmonized with an occasional note of exalted idealism—a discord which is characteristic of the "practical philosophy" of Isocrates.[c]

The authenticity of the discourse has been challenged, in modern times notably by Benseler, but on insufficient grounds.[d]

[a] This looseness of composition is found also in *To Nicocles*, as Isocrates himself points out in *Antid.* 68.

[b] In *To Nicocles* Isocrates acknowledges that his material has been drawn from many sources. See 40, 41.

[c] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 83.

[d] See Sandys' edition of *To Demonicus* and of the *Panegyricus*, Introduction, p. xxxi, and Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 279. *Cf.*, however, Drerup, introd. to his edition, pp. cxxxiv-cxli.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΝ

Steph. p. [2] Ἐν πολλοῖς μέν, ὦ Δημόνικε, πολὺ διεστώσας
εὑρήσομεν τάς τε τῶν σπουδαίων γνώμας καὶ τὰς
τῶν φαύλων διανοίας· πολὺ δὲ μεγίστην διαφορὰν
εἰλήφασιν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνηθείαις· οἱ μὲν
γὰρ τοὺς φίλους παρόντας μόνον τιμῶσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ
μακρὰν ἀπόντας ἀγαπῶσι· καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φαύλων
συνηθείας ὀλίγος χρόνος διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ τῶν σπου-
δαίων φιλίας οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἐξαλείψειεν.
2 ἡγούμενος οὖν πρέπειν τοὺς δόξης ὀρεγομένους
καὶ παιδείας ἀντιποιουμένους τῶν σπουδαίων ἀλλὰ
μὴ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι μιμητάς, ἀπέσταλκά σοι
τόνδε τὸν λόγον δῶρον, τεκμήριον μὲν τῆς πρὸς
ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας, σημεῖον δὲ τῆς πρὸς Ἱππόνικον
συνηθείας· πρέπει γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, ὥσπερ τῆς
οὐσίας, οὕτω καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πατρικῆς κληρο-
3 νομεῖν. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τύχην ἡμῖν συλλαμ-
βάνουσαν καὶ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν συναγωνιζό-
μενον· σὺ μὲν γὰρ παιδείας ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ
παιδεύειν ἄλλους ἐπιχειρῶ, καὶ σοὶ μὲν ἀκμὴ
φιλοσοφεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἐπανορθῶ.

[a] For the sentiment that bad men make poor friends *cf.* Theognis, 101 ff., and Socrates in Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 6. 19.

THE ORATIONS OF ISOCRATES

I. TO DEMONICUS

In many respects, Demonicus, we shall find that much disparity exists between the principles of good men and the notions of the base; but most of all by far have they parted company in the quality of their friendships.[a] The base honour their friends only when they are present; the good cherish theirs even when they are far away; and while it takes only a short time to break up the intimacies of the base, not all eternity can blot out the friendships of good men. So then, since I deem it fitting that those who strive for distinction and are ambitious for education should emulate the good and not the bad, I have dispatched to you this discourse as a gift, in proof of my good will toward you and in token of my friendship for Hipponicus; for it is fitting that a son should inherit his father's friendships even as he inherits his estate. I see, moreover, that fortune is on our side and that the present circumstances are in league with us; for you are eager for education and I profess to educate; you are ripe for philosophy[b] and I direct students of philosophy.

[b] For the meaning of "philosophy" in Isocrates see Introduction, pp. xxv ff.

Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους τοὺς
προτρεπτικοὺς λόγους συγγράφουσι, καλὸν μὲν
4 ἔργον ἐπιχειροῦσιν, οὐ μὴν περί γε τὸ κράτιστον
τῆς φιλοσοφίας διατρίβουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ τοῖς νεω-
τέροις εἰσηγοῦνται μὴ δι' ὧν τὴν δεινότητα τὴν
ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀσκήσουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰ τῶν
[3] τρόπων ἤθη σπουδαῖοι πεφυκέναι δόξουσι, τοσούτῳ
μᾶλλον ἐκείνων τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὠφελοῦσιν, ὅσον
οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ λόγον παρακαλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τὸν τρόπον
αὐτῶν ἐπανορθοῦσι.

5 Διόπερ ἡμεῖς οὐ παράκλησιν εὑρόντες ἀλλὰ
παραίνεσιν γράψαντες, μέλλομέν σοι συμβουλεύειν
ὧν χρὴ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τίνων ἔργων
ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ ποίοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν καὶ
πῶς τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον οἰκονομεῖν. ὅσοι γὰρ τοῦ
βίου ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπορεύθησαν, οὗτοι μόνοι
τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφικέσθαι γνησίως ἠδυνήθησαν, ἧς
οὐδὲν κτῆμα σεμνότερον οὐδὲ βεβαιότερόν ἐστι.
6 κάλλος μὲν γὰρ ἢ χρόνος ἀνήλωσεν ἢ νόσος
ἐμάρανε· πλοῦτος δὲ κακίας μᾶλλον ἢ καλοκα-
γαθίας ὑπηρέτης ἐστίν, ἐξουσίαν μὲν τῇ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ
παρασκευάζων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἡδονὰς τοὺς νέους
παρακαλῶν· ῥώμη δὲ μετὰ μὲν φρονήσεως ὠφέ-
λησεν, ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης πλείω τοὺς ἔχοντας ἔβλαψε,[1]
καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα τῶν ἀσκούντων ἐκόσμησε,
7 ταῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμελείαις ἐπεσκότησεν. ἡ δὲ
τῆς ἀρετῆς κτῆσις, οἷς ἂν ἀκιβδήλως ταῖς διανοίαις

[1] ἔβλαψε Γ : ἐλυμήνατο $Γ_b$Z.

[a] Hermogenes, Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος, 25, refers to this introduction as an example of inoffensive self-laudation in the orators.

[b] For Isocrates' insistence on right conduct as the end of education see Introduction, p. xxv.

Now those who compose hortatory discourses addressed to their own friends are, no doubt, engaged in a laudable employment; yet they do not occupy themselves with the most vital part of philosophy. Those, on the contrary, who point out to the young, not by what means they may cultivate skill in oratory, but how they may win repute as men of sound character, are rendering a greater service[a] to their hearers in that, while the former exhort them to proficiency in speech, the latter improve their moral conduct.[b]

Therefore, I have not invented a hortatory[c] exercise, but have written a moral treatise; and I am going to counsel you on the objects to which young men should aspire and from what actions they should abstain, and with what sort of men they should associate and how they should regulate their own lives. For only those who have travelled this road in life have been able in the true sense to attain to virtue—that possession which is the grandest and the most enduring in the world. For beauty is spent by time or withered by disease; wealth ministers to vice rather than to nobility of soul, affording means for indolent living and luring the young to pleasure; strength, in company with wisdom, is, indeed, an advantage, but without wisdom it harms more than it helps its possessors, and while it sets off the bodies of those who cultivate it, yet it obscures the care of the soul.[d] But virtue, when it grows up with

[c] This discourse is really hortatory in the general sense of that word, but Isocrates distinguishes it from hortatory ("protreptic") discourses of the sophists, which were lectures to stimulate interest in whatever kind of learning they professed to teach, commonly oratory.

[d] *Cf. Paneg.* 1.

συναυξηθῇ, μόνη μὲν συγγηράσκει, πλούτου δὲ κρείττων, χρησιμωτέρα δὲ εὐγενείας ἐστί, τὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδύνατα δυνατὰ καθιστᾶσα, τὰ δὲ τῷ πλήθει φοβερὰ θαρσαλέως ὑπομένουσα, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄκνον ψόγον, τὸν δὲ πόνον ἔπαινον ἡγουμένη.
8 ῥᾴδιον δὲ τοῦτο καταμαθεῖν ἐστιν ἔκ τε τῶν Ἡρακλέους ἄθλων καὶ τῶν Θησέως ἔργων, οἷς ἡ τῶν τρόπων ἀρετὴ τηλικοῦτον εὐδοξίας χαρακτῆρα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέβαλεν, ὥστε μηδὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον δύνασθαι λήθην ἐμποιῆσαι τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων.

9 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς προαιρέσεις ἀναμνησθεὶς οἰκεῖον καὶ καλὸν ἕξεις παράδειγμα τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ σοι λεγομένων. οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐδὲ ῥᾳθυμῶν διετέλεσε τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγύμναζε, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπέμενεν.[1] οὐδὲ τὸν πλοῦτον παρακαίρως ἠγάπα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέλαυε μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὡς θνητός, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
10 ὡς ἀθάνατος. οὐδὲ ταπεινῶς διῴκει τὸν αὑτοῦ
[4] βίον, ἀλλὰ φιλόκαλος ἦν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις κοινός, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐθαύμαζε τοὺς περὶ αὑτὸν σπουδάζοντας ἢ τοὺς γένει προσήκοντας· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἑταιρίαν πολλῷ κρείττω φύσιν νόμου καὶ τρόπον γένους καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀνάγκης.

11 Ἐπιλίποι δ᾽ ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, εἰ πάσας

[1] ὑπέμενεν Γ: ὑφίστατο $Γ_5$.

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[a] *Cf.* Bacchylides, iii. 78 (Jebb): "As a mortal thou must nourish each of two forebodings;—that to-morrow's sunlight will be the last that thou shalt see; or that for fifty

us in our hearts without alloy, is the one possession which abides with us in old age; it is better than riches and more serviceable than high birth; it makes possible what is for others impossible; it supports with fortitude that which is fearful to the multitude; and it considers sloth a disgrace and toil an honour. This it is easy to learn from the labours of Heracles and the exploits of Theseus, whose excellence of character has impressed upon their exploits so clear a stamp of glory that not even endless time can cast oblivion upon their achievements.

Nay, if you will but recall also your father's principles, you will have from your own house a noble illustration of what I am telling you. For he did not belittle virtue nor pass his life in indolence; on the contrary, he trained his body by toil, and by his spirit he withstood dangers. Nor did he love wealth inordinately; but, although he enjoyed the good things at his hand as became a mortal, yet he cared for his possessions as if he had been immortal.[a] Neither did he order his existence sordidly, but was a lover of beauty, munificent in his manner of life, and generous to his friends; and he prized more those who were devoted to him than those who were his kin by blood; for he considered that in the matter of companionship nature is a much better guide than convention, character than kinship, and freedom of choice than compulsion.

But all time would fail us if we should try to

years thou wilt live out thy life in ample wealth;" and Lucian, *Anthol. Pal.* x. 26:

ὡς τεθνηξόμενος τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυε,
ὡς δὲ βιωσόμενος φείδεο σῶν κτεάνων.

τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις καταριθμησαίμεθα. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν ἐν ἑτέροις καιροῖς δηλώσομεν,[a] δεῖγμα δὲ τῆς Ἱππονίκου φύσεως νῦν ἐξενηνόχαμεν, πρὸς ὃν δεῖ ζῆν σε ὥσπερ πρὸς παράδειγμα, νόμον μὲν τὸν ἐκείνου τρόπον ἡγησάμενον, μιμητὴν δὲ καὶ ζηλωτὴν τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς γιγνόμενον· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν γραφεῖς ἀπεικάζειν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ζῴων, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας μὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς

12 σπουδαίους τῶν γονέων. ἡγοῦ δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν οὕτω προσήκειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀσκεῖν, ὡς σοὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐφάμιλλος γενήσει τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν. οὕτω δὲ τὴν γνώμην οὐ δυνατὸν διατεθῆναι τὸν μὴ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἀκουσμάτων πεπληρωμένον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα τοῖς συμμέτροις πόνοις, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις λόγοις αὔξεσθαι πέφυκε. διόπερ ἐγώ σοι πειράσομαι συντόμως ὑποθέσθαι, δι' ὧν ἄν μοι δοκεῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων πλεῖστον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμῆσαι.

13 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εὐσέβει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, μὴ μόνον θύων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένων· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων εὐπορίας σημεῖον, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τῶν τρόπων καλοκαγαθίας τεκμήριον. τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ μέν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τῆς πόλεως· οὕτω γὰρ δόξεις ἅμα τε τοῖς θεοῖς θύειν[b] καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένειν.

14 Τοιοῦτος γίγνου περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, οἵους ἂν εὔξαιο περὶ σεαυτὸν γενέσθαι τοὺς σεαυτοῦ παῖδας.

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[a] This intention was not, so far as we know, carried out.

[b] *Cf.* Theognis, 171 θεοῖς εὔχευ, θεοῖς ἐστιν ἔπι κράτος.

recount all his activities. On another occasion I shall set them forth in detail;[a] for the present, however, I have produced a sample of the nature of Hipponicus, after whom you should pattern your life as after an ensample, regarding his conduct as your law, and striving to imitate and emulate your father's virtue; for it were a shame, when painters represent the beautiful among animals, for children not to imitate the noble among their ancestors. Nay, you must consider that no athlete is so in duty bound to train against his competitors as are you to take thought how you may vie with your father in his ways of life. But it is not possible for the mind to be so disposed unless one is fraught with many noble maxims; for, as it is the nature of the body to be developed by appropriate exercises, it is the nature of the soul to be developed by moral precepts. Wherefore I shall endeavour to set before you concisely by what practices I think you can make the most progress toward virtue and win the highest repute in the eyes of all other men.

First of all, then, show devotion to the gods,[b] not merely by doing sacrifice, but also by keeping your vows; for the former is but evidence of a material prosperity, whereas the latter is proof of a noble character. Do honour to the divine power at all times, but especially on occasions of public worship; for thus you will have the reputation both of sacrificing to the gods and of abiding by the laws.

Conduct yourself toward your parents as you would have your children conduct themselves toward you.[c]

[c] Isocrates anticipates the golden rule. *Cf. Nicocles*, 61; *To Nicocles*, 24, 38; *Paneg.* 81.

Ἄσκει τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίων μὴ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ῥώμην ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν· τούτου
[5] δ' ἂν ἐπιτύχοις, εἰ λήγοις τῶν πόνων ἔτι πονεῖν δυνάμενος.

15 Μήτε γέλωτα προπετῆ στέργε, μήτε λόγον μετὰ θράσους ἀποδέχου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνόητον, τὸ δὲ μανικόν.

Ἃ ποιεῖν αἰσχρόν, ταῦτα νόμιζε μηδὲ λέγειν εἶναι καλόν. ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν εἶναι μὴ σκυθρωπὸν ἀλλὰ σύννουν· δι' ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ αὐθάδης, διὰ δὲ τοῦτο φρόνιμος εἶναι δόξεις. ἡγοῦ μάλιστα σεαυτῷ πρέπειν κόσμον, αἰσχύνην δικαιοσύνην σωφροσύνην· τούτοις γὰρ ἅπασι δοκεῖ κρατεῖσθαι τὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἦθος.

16 Μηδέποτε μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσας ἔλπιζε λήσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους λάθῃς, σεαυτῷ συνειδήσεις.

Τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς φοβοῦ, τοὺς δὲ γονεῖς τίμα, τοὺς δὲ φίλους αἰσχύνου, τοῖς δὲ νόμοις πείθου.

Τὰς ἡδονὰς θήρευε τὰς μετὰ δόξης· τέρψις γὰρ σὺν τῷ καλῷ μὲν ἄριστον, ἄνευ δὲ τούτου κάκιστον.

17 Εὐλαβοῦ τὰς διαβολάς, κἂν ψευδεῖς ὦσιν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀγνοοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δόξαν ἀποβλέπουσιν. ἅπαντα δόκει ποιεῖν ὡς μηδένα λήσων· καὶ γὰρ ἂν παραυτίκα κρύψῃς, ὕστερον ὀφθήσει. μάλιστα δ' ἂν εὐδοκιμοίης, εἰ φαίνοιο ταῦτα μὴ πράττων, ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν πράττουσιν ἐπιτιμῴης.

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[a] *Cf.* Lord Chesterfield, *Letters*, 144: "Frequent and loud laughter is characteristic of folly and ill manners."

[b] *Cf.* 46.

[c] Apparently borrowed from Thales. See Diog. Laert. i. 36 ἐὰν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν. *Cf.* 14 and note.

Train your body, not by the exercises which conduce to strength, but by those which conduce to health. In this you will succeed if you cease your exertions while you still have energy to exert yourself.

Be not fond of violent mirth, nor harbour presumption of speech; for the one is folly, the other madness.[a]

Whatever is shameful to do you must not consider it honourable even to mention. Accustom yourself to be, not of a stern, but of a thoughtful, mien; for through the former you will be thought self-willed, through the latter, intelligent. Consider that no adornment so becomes you as modesty, justice, and self-control; for these are the virtues by which, as all men are agreed, the character of the young is held in restraint.

Never hope to conceal any shameful thing which you have done; for even if you do conceal it from others, your own heart will know.

Fear the gods, honour your parents, respect your friends, obey the laws.

Pursue the enjoyments which are of good repute; for pleasure attended by honour is the best thing in the world, but pleasure without honour is the worst.[b]

Guard yourself against accusations, even if they are false; for the multitude are ignorant of the truth and look only to reputation. In all things resolve to act as though the whole world would see what you do; for even if you conceal your deeds for the moment, later you will be found out. But most of all will you have the respect of men, if you are seen to avoid doing things which you would blame others for doing.[c]

18 Ἐὰν ᾖς φιλομαθής, ἔσει πολυμαθής. ἃ μὲν ἐπίστασαι, ταῦτα διαφύλαττε ταῖς μελέταις, ἃ δὲ μὴ μεμάθηκας, προσλάμβανε ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις· ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἀκούσαντα χρήσιμον λόγον μὴ μαθεῖν καὶ διδόμενόν τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων μὴ λαβεῖν. κατανάλισκε τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ σχολὴν εἰς τὴν τῶν λόγων φιληκοΐαν· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις χαλεπῶς εὑρημένα συμβήσεταί σοι
19 ῥᾳδίως μανθάνειν. ἡγοῦ τῶν ἀκουσμάτων πολλὰ πολλῶν εἶναι χρημάτων κρείττω· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ταχέως ἀπολείπει, τὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον παραμένει· σοφία γὰρ μόνον τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατον.
[6] μὴ κατόκνει μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς διδάσκειν τι χρήσιμον ἐπαγγελλομένους· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐμπόρους τηλικαῦτα πελάγη διαπερᾶν ἕνεκα τοῦ πλείω ποιῆσαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους μηδὲ τὰς κατὰ γῆν πορείας ὑπομένειν ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίω καταστῆσαι τὴν αὑτῶν διάνοιαν.

20 Τῷ μὲν τρόπῳ γίγνου φιλοπροσήγορος, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ εὐπροσήγορος. ἔστι δὲ φιλοπροσηγορίας μὲν τὸ προσφωνεῖν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, εὐπροσηγορίας δὲ τὸ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς οἰκείως ἐντυγχάνειν. ἡδέως μὲν ἔχε πρὸς ἅπαντας, χρῶ δὲ τοῖς βελτίστοις· οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀπεχθὴς ἔσει, τοῖς δὲ φίλος γενήσει. τὰς ἐντεύξεις μὴ ποιοῦ πυκνὰς τοῖς αὐτοῖς, μηδὲ μακρὰς περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· πλησμονὴ γὰρ ἁπάντων.

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[a] Sandys quotes from Ascham's *Scholemaster*: "Isocrates did cause to be written at the entrie of his schole, in golden letters, this golden sentence, ἐὰν ᾖς φιλομαθής, ἔσῃ πολυμαθής, which excellentlie said in Greek, is thus rudelie in English, 'If thou lovest learning, thou shalt attayne to moch learning.'"

If you love knowledge, you will be a master of knowledge.[a] What you have come to know, preserve by exercise; what you have not learned, seek to add to your knowledge; for it is as reprehensible to hear a profitable saying and not grasp it as to be offered a good gift by one's friends and not accept it. Spend your leisure time in cultivating an ear attentive to discourse, for in this way you will find that you learn with ease what others have found out with difficulty. Believe that many precepts are better than much wealth; for wealth quickly fails us, but precepts abide through all time; for wisdom alone of all possessions is imperishable. Do not hesitate to travel a long road [b] to those who profess to offer some useful instruction; for it were a shame, when merchants cross vast seas in order to increase their store of wealth, that the young should not endure even journeys by land to improve their understanding.

Be courteous in your manner, and cordial in your address. It is the part of courtesy to greet those whom you meet; and of cordiality to enter into friendly talk with them. Be pleasant to all, but cultivate the best; thus you will avoid the dislike of the former and have the friendship of the latter. Avoid frequent conversations with the same persons, and long conversations on the same subject; for there is satiety in all things.[c]

The words were in fact inscribed "in golden letters" over the portal to Shrewsbury School.

[b] Echoed unmistakably from Theog. 71-2:

ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐσθλὸν ἰὼν βουλεύεο πολλὰ μογήσας
καὶ μακρὴν ποσσίν, Κύρν', ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας.

[c] *Cf.* Homer, *Il.* xiii. 636 *πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί*; Aristoph. *Plut.* 189 *τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐστὶ πάντων πλησμονή.*

21 Γύμναζε σεαυτὸν πόνοις ἑκουσίοις, ὅπως ἂν
δύνῃ καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσίους ὑπομένειν. ὑφ᾽ ὧν
κρατεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν αἰσχρόν, τούτων ἐγκράτειαν
ἄσκει πάντων, κέρδους, ὀργῆς, ἡδονῆς, λύπης.
ἔσει δὲ τοιοῦτος, ἐὰν κέρδη μὲν εἶναι νομίζῃς δι᾽
ὧν εὐδοκιμήσεις ἀλλὰ μὴ δι᾽ ὧν εὐπορήσεις, τῇ
δὲ ὀργῇ παραπλησίως ἔχῃς πρὸς τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας
ὥσπερ ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἔχειν ἀξιώσειας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τερπνοῖς, ἐὰν
αἰσχρὸν ὑπολάβῃς τῶν μὲν οἰκετῶν ἄρχειν ταῖς δ᾽
ἡδοναῖς δουλεύειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς, ἐὰν τὰς
τῶν ἄλλων ἀτυχίας ἐπιβλέπῃς καὶ αὑτὸν ὡς ἄν-
θρωπος ὢν ὑπομιμνήσκῃς.

22 Μᾶλλον τήρει τὰς τῶν λόγων ἢ τὰς τῶν χρημά-
των παρακαταθήκας· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας
τρόπον ὅρκου πιστότερον φαίνεσθαι παρεχομένους.
προσήκειν ἡγοῦ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ὥσπερ
τοῖς χρηστοῖς πιστεύειν. περὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων
μηδενὶ λέγε, πλὴν ἐὰν ὁμοίως συμφέρῃ τὰς πράξεις
σιωπᾶσθαι σοί τε τῷ λέγοντι κἀκείνοις τοῖς
23 ἀκούουσιν. ὅρκον ἐπακτὸν προσδέχου διὰ δύο
προφάσεις, ἢ σεαυτὸν αἰτίας αἰσχρᾶς ἀπολύων, ἢ
φίλους ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων διασῴζων. ἕνεκα δὲ
χρημάτων μηδένα θεῶν ὀμόσῃς, μηδ᾽ ἂν εὐορκεῖν
[7] μέλλῃς· δόξεις γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιορκεῖν, τοῖς δὲ
φιλοχρημάτως ἔχειν.

24 Μηδένα φίλον ποιοῦ, πρὶν ἂν ἐξετάσῃς πῶς
κέχρηται τοῖς πρότερον φίλοις· ἔλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν

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[a] So also Democritus, Stobaeus, *Flor.* xxix. 63.

[b] The Greek ideal of freedom through self-control. See Socrates in Xen. *Mem.* iv. 5. *Cf. To Nicocles*, 29.

[c] *Cf.* Xen. *Mem.* ii. 6. 6.

Train yourself in self-imposed toils, that you may be able to endure those which others impose upon you.[a] Practise self-control in all the things by which it is shameful for the soul to be controlled,[b] namely, gain, temper, pleasure, and pain. You will attain such self-control if you regard as gainful those things which will increase your reputation and not those which will increase your wealth; if you manage your temper towards those who offend against you as you would expect others to do if you offended against them; if you govern your pleasures on the principle that it is shameful to rule over one's servants and yet be a slave to one's desires; and if, when you are in trouble, you contemplate the misfortunes of others and remind yourself that you are human.

Guard more faithfully the secret which is confided to you than the money which is entrusted to your care; for good men ought to show that they hold their honour more trustworthy than an oath. Consider that you owe it to yourself no less to mistrust bad men than to put your trust in the good. On matters which you would keep secret, speak to no one save when it is equally expedient for you who speak and for those who hear that the facts should not be published. Never allow yourself to be put under oath save for one of two reasons—in order to clear yourself of disgraceful charges or to save your friends from great dangers. In matters of money, swear by none of the gods, not even when you intend to swear a true oath; for you will be suspected on the one hand of perjury, on the other of greed.

Make no man your friend before inquiring how he has used his former friends;[c] for you must expect

καὶ περὶ σὲ γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον, οἷος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονε. βραδέως μὲν φίλος γίγνου, γενόμενος δὲ πειρῶ διαμένειν· ὁμοίως γὰρ αἰσχρὸν μηδένα φίλον ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς ἑταίρους μεταλλάττειν. μήτε μετὰ βλάβης πειρῶ τῶν φίλων, μήτ' ἄπειρος εἶναι τῶν ἑταίρων θέλε. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις, ἐὰν μὴ δεόμενος τὸ δεῖσθαι προσποιῇ.
25 περὶ τῶν ῥητῶν ὡς ἀπορρήτων ἀνακοινοῦ· μὴ τυχὼν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν βλαβήσει, τυχὼν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὸν τρόπον ἐπιστήσει. δοκίμαζε τοὺς φίλους ἔκ τε τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀτυχίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις κοινωνίας· τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ πυρὶ βασανίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις διαγιγνώσκομεν. οὕτως ἄριστα χρήσει τοῖς φίλοις, ἐὰν μὴ προσμένῃς τὰς παρ' ἐκείνων δεήσεις, ἀλλ' αὐτεπάγγελτος αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς
26 βοηθῇς. ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νόμιζε τῶν ἐχθρῶν νικᾶσθαι ταῖς κακοποιίαις καὶ τῶν φίλων ἡττᾶσθαι ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις. ἀποδέχου τῶν ἑταίρων μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δυσχεραίνοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μὴ φθονοῦντας· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀτυχοῦσι μὲν τοῖς φίλοις συνάχθονται, καλῶς δὲ πράττουσι φθονοῦσι. τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων μέμνησο πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ἵνα δοκῇς μηδὲ τούτων ἀπόντων ὀλιγωρεῖν.

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[a] *Cf.* Solon, quoted in Diog. Laert. i. 60:

> φίλους μὴ ταχὺ κτῶ· οὓς δ' ἂν κτήσῃ
> μὴ ἀποδοκίμαζε.

[b] For both the figure and the sentiment *cf.* Theog. 415.

[c] The "get even" standard of honour in popular thought. *Cf.* Theognis, 869-72:

> ἔν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν
> χάλκεος, ἀνθρώπων δεῖμα χαμαιγενέων,

him to treat you as he has treated them. Be slow [a] to give your friendship, but when you have given it, strive to make it lasting; for it is as reprehensible to make many changes in one's associates as to have no friend at all. Neither test your friends to your own injury nor be willing to forgo a test of your companions. You can manage this if you pretend to be in want when really you lack nothing. Confide in them about matters which require no secrecy as if they were secrets; for if you fail you will not injure yourself, and if you succeed you will have a better knowledge of their character. Prove your friends by means of the misfortunes of life and of their fellowship in your perils; for as we try gold in the fire, so we come to know our friends when we are in misfortune.[b] You will best serve your friends if you do not wait for them to ask your help, but go of your own accord at the crucial moment to lend them aid. Consider it equally disgraceful to be outdone by your enemies in doing injury and to be surpassed by your friends in doing kindness.[c] Admit to your companionship, not those alone who show distress at your reverses, but those also who show no envy at your good fortune; for there are many who sympathize with their friends in adversity, but envy them in prosperity.[d] Mention your absent friends to those who are with you, so that they may think you do not forget them, in their turn, when they are absent.

εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἵ με φιλοῦσιν,
τοῖς δ' ἐχθροῖς ἀνίη καὶ μέγα πῆμ' ἔσομαι.

Even Socrates reflects this standard in Xenophon, *Mem.* ii. 6. 35. Not so Socrates in Plato: see *Republic*, 335 A.

[d] See Socrates' analysis of envy in Xenophon, *Mem.* iii. 9. 8.

27 Εἶναι βούλου τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα φιλόκαλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ καλλωπιστής. ἔστι δὲ φιλοκάλου μὲν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, καλλωπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ περίεργον.

Ἀγάπα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν μὴ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν κτῆσιν ἀλλὰ τὴν μετρίαν ἀπόλαυσιν. καταφρόνει τῶν περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον σπουδαζόντων μέν, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μὴ δυναμένων·
[8] παραπλήσιον γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάσχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππον κτήσαιτο καλὸν κακῶς ἱππεύειν
28 ἐπιστάμενος. πειρῶ τὸν πλοῦτον χρήματα καὶ κτήματα κατασκευάζειν. ἔστι δὲ χρήματα μὲν τοῖς ἀπολαύειν ἐπισταμένοις, κτήματα δὲ τοῖς κτᾶσθαι δυναμένοις. τίμα τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν δυοῖν ἕνεκεν, τοῦ τε ζημίαν μεγάλην ἐκτῖσαι δύνασθαι, καὶ τοῦ φίλῳ σπουδαίῳ δυστυχοῦντι βοηθῆσαι· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον βίον μηδὲν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀλλὰ μετρίως αὐτὴν ἀγάπα.

29 Στέργε μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ζήτει δὲ τὰ βελτίω.

Μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσῃς· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον.

Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εὖ ποίει· καλὸς γὰρ θησαυρὸς παρ' ἀνδρὶ σπουδαίῳ χάρις ὀφειλομένη. τοὺς κακοὺς εὖ ποιῶν ὅμοια πείσει τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κύνας σιτίζουσιν· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τοὺς διδόντας ὥσπερ τοὺς τυχόντας ὑλακτοῦσιν, οἵ τε κακοὶ τοὺς ὠφελοῦντας ὥσπερ τοὺς βλάπτοντας ἀδικοῦσι.

30 Μίσει τοὺς κολακεύοντας ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐξαπατῶντας· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ πιστευθέντες τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἀδικοῦσιν. ἐὰν ἀποδέχῃ τῶν φίλων τοὺς πρὸς

[a] The same cynicism is expressed in Theognis, 105-106:

δειλοὺς εὖ ἕρδοντι ματαιοτάτη χάρις ἐστίν·
ἶσον καὶ σπείρειν πόντον ἁλὸς πολιῆς.

In matters of dress, resolve to be a man of taste, but not a fop. The man of taste is marked by elegance, the fop by excess.

Set not your heart on the excessive acquisition of goods, but on a moderate enjoyment of what you have. Despise those who strain after riches, but are not able to use what they have; they are in like case with a man who, being but a wretched horseman, gets him a fine mount. Try to make of money a thing to use as well as to possess; it is a thing of use to those who understand how to enjoy it, and a mere possession to those who are able only to acquire it. Prize the substance you have for two reasons—that you may have the means to meet a heavy loss and that you may go to the aid of a worthy friend when he is in distress; but for your life in general, cherish your possessions not in excess but in moderation.

Be content with your present lot, but seek a better one.

Taunt no man with his misfortune; for fate is common to all and the future is a thing unseen.

Bestow your favours on the good; for a goodly treasury is a store of gratitude laid up in the heart of an honest man. If you benefit bad men, you will have the same reward as those who feed stray dogs; for these snarl alike at those who give them food and at the passing stranger; and just so base men wrong alike those who help and those who harm them.[a]

Abhor flatterers as you would deceivers; for both, if trusted, injure those who trust them. If you admit to your friendship men who seek your

τὸ φαυλότατον χαριζομένους, οὐχ ἕξεις ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοὺς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπεχθανομένους.

Γίγνου πρὸς τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ὁμιλητικός, ἀλλὰ μὴ σεμνός· τὸν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ὑπεροπτικῶν ὄγκον μόλις ἂν οἱ δοῦλοι καρτερήσειαν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ὁμι-
31 λητικῶν τρόπον ἅπαντες ἡδέως ὑποφέρουσιν. ὁμιλητικὸς δ' ἔσει μὴ δύσερις ὢν μηδὲ δυσάρεστος μηδὲ πρὸς πάντας φιλόνικος, μηδὲ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλησιαζόντων ὀργὰς τραχέως ἀπαντῶν, μηδ' ἂν ἀδίκως ὀργιζόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ θυμουμένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς εἴκων, πεπαυμένοις δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπιπλήττων· μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ γελοῖα σπουδάζων, μηδὲ παρὰ τὰ σπουδαῖα τοῖς γελοίοις χαίρων (τὸ γὰρ ἄκαιρον πανταχοῦ λυπηρόν)· μηδὲ τὰς χάριτας ἀχαρίστως χαριζόμενος, ὅπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοί, ποιοῦντες μέν, ἀηδῶς δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ὑπουργοῦντες·
[9] μηδὲ φιλαίτιος ὤν, βαρὺ γάρ, μηδὲ φιλεπιτιμητής, παροξυντικὸν γάρ.

32 Μάλιστα μὲν εὐλαβοῦ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πότοις συνουσίας· ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμπέσῃ καιρός, ἐξανίστασο πρὸ μέθης. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ οἴνου διαφθαρῇ, ταὐτὰ πάσχει τοῖς ἅρμασι τοῖς τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἀποβαλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνά τε γὰρ ἀτάκτως φέρεται διαμαρτόντα τῶν εὐθυνούντων, ἥ τε ψυχὴ πολλὰ σφάλλεται διαφθαρείσης τῆς διανοίας.

Ἀθάνατα μὲν φρόνει τῷ μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι,

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[a] For drinking-parties in Athens see Isocrates' picture in *Antid.* 286-7.

[b] Theognis gives the same advice, 484 ff.

[c] This recalls the figure of the charioteer and the two

favour for the lowest ends, your life will be lacking in friends who will risk your displeasure for the highest good.

Be affable in your relations with those who approach you, and never haughty; for the pride of the arrogant even slaves can hardly endure, whereas when men are affable all are glad to bear with their ways. But to be affable, you must not be quarrelsome, nor hard to please, nor always determined to have your way; you must not oppose harshly the angry moods of your associates, even if they happen to be angry without reason, but rather give way to them when they are in the heat of passion and rebuke them when their anger has cooled; you must avoid being serious when the occasion is one for mirth, or taking pleasure in mirth when the occasion is serious (for what is unseasonable is always offensive); you must not bestow your favours ungraciously as do the majority who, when they must oblige their friends, do it offensively; and you must not be given to fault-finding, which is irksome, nor be censorious, which is exasperating.

If possible avoid drinking-parties altogether,[a] but if ever occasion arises when you must be present, rise and take your leave before you become intoxicated;[b] for when the mind is impaired by wine it is like chariots which have lost their drivers; for just as these plunge along in wild disorder when they miss the hands which should guide them, so the soul stumbles again and again when the intellect is impaired.[c]

Cultivate the thoughts of an immortal by being

horses in Plato, *Phaedr.* 247 A, B, C. There is an exact parallel in Libanius, xii. 40.

θνητὰ δὲ τῷ συμμέτρως τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπολαύειν.

33 Ἡγοῦ τὴν παιδείαν τοσούτῳ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοχθηρὰ πάντες κερδαίνοντες πράττουσιν, αὕτη δὲ μόνη καὶ προσεζημίωσε τοὺς ἔχοντας· πολλάκις γάρ, ὧν τοῖς λόγοις ἐλύπησαν, τούτων τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔδοσαν.

Οὓς ἂν βούλῃ ποιήσασθαι φίλους, ἀγαθόν τι λέγε περὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας· ἀρχὴ γὰρ φιλίας μὲν ἔπαινος, ἔχθρας δὲ ψόγος.

34 Βουλευόμενος παραδείγματα ποιοῦ τὰ παρεληλυθότα τῶν μελλόντων· τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν. βουλεύου μὲν βραδέως, ἐπιτέλει δὲ ταχέως τὰ δόξαντα. ἡγοῦ κράτιστον εἶναι παρὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν εὐτυχίαν, παρὰ δ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν εὐβουλίαν. περὶ ὧν ἂν αἰσχύνῃ παρρησιάσασθαι, βούλῃ δέ τισι τῶν φίλων ἀνακοινώσασθαι, χρῶ τοῖς λόγοις ὡς περὶ ἀλλοτρίου τοῦ πράγματος· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἐκείνων τε γνῶσιν αἰσθήσει, καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐ καταφανῆ ποιή-
35 σεις. ὅταν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ μέλλῃς τινὶ συμβούλῳ χρῆσθαι, σκόπει πρῶτον πῶς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διῴκησεν· ὁ γὰρ κακῶς διανοηθεὶς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδέποτε καλῶς βουλεύσεται περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. οὕτω δ' ἂν μάλιστα βουλεύεσθαι παροξυνθείης, εἰ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας ἐπιβλέψειας· καὶ

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[a] *Cf.* 9.

[b] The translation of this perplexing sentence takes αὕτη to refer to ἀπαιδευσία, following Sandys.

lofty of soul, but of a mortal by enjoying in due measure the good things which you possess.[a]

Consider culture to be a good so far superior to the lack of culture that while in general everyone derives gain from the practice of vice, boorishness[b] is the one vice which actually penalizes its possessors; for the latter are often punished in deed for the offences they give by their words.

When you desire to make a friend of anyone, say good things about him to those who are wont to report them; for praise is the foundation of friendship, as blame is that of enmity.

In your deliberations, let the past be an exemplar for the future;[c] for the unknown may be soonest discerned by reference to the known.[d] Be slow in deliberation, but be prompt to carry out your resolves. Consider that as the best thing which we have from the gods is good fortune, so the best thing which we have in ourselves is good judgement. When there is anything of which you are ashamed to speak openly, but about which you wish to confer with some of your friends, speak as though it were another's affair; thus you will get at their opinion, and will not betray your own case. Whenever you purpose to consult with any one about your affairs, first observe how he has managed his own; for he who has shown poor judgement in conducting his own business will never give wise counsel about the business of others. The greatest incentive you can have to deliberation is to observe the misfortunes which spring from the lack of it; for we pay the

[c] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 35.

[d] The same idea is attributed to Cleobulus, Stob. *Flor.* iii. 31 τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου.

γὰρ τῆς ὑγιείας πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχομεν, ὅταν τὰς λύπας τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀναμνησθῶμεν.

[10] 36 Μιμοῦ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἤθη καὶ δίωκε τὰ ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύματα· δόξεις γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ζηλοῦν, ὥστε σοι συμβήσεται παρά τε τῷ πλήθει μᾶλλον εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνων εὔνοιαν βεβαιοτέραν ἔχειν. πείθου μὲν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων κειμένοις, ἰσχυρότατον μέντοι νόμον ἡγοῦ τὸν ἐκείνων τρόπον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευόμενον τὸ πλῆθος δεῖ θεραπεύειν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐν μοναρχίᾳ κατοικοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα προσήκει θαυμάζειν.

37 Εἰς ἀρχὴν κατασταθεὶς μηδενὶ χρῶ πονηρῷ πρὸς τὰς διοικήσεις· ὧν γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἁμάρτῃ, σοὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναθήσουσιν. ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελειῶν ἀπαλλάττου μὴ πλουσιώτερος ἀλλ' ἐνδοξότερος· πολλῶν γὰρ χρημάτων κρείττων ὁ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔπαινος.

Μηδενὶ πονηρῷ πράγματι μήτε παρίστασο μήτε συνηγόρει· δόξεις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα πράττειν, οἷά περ ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράττουσι βοηθῇς.

38 Παρασκεύαζε σεαυτὸν πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν δύνασθαι, ἀνέχου δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχων, ἵνα δοκῇς ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης μὴ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπιείκειαν. μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου δικαίαν πενίαν ἢ πλοῦτον ἄδικον· τοσούτῳ γὰρ κρείττων δικαιοσύνη χρημάτων, ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν ζῶντας μόνον ὠφελεῖ, τὸ δὲ[1] καὶ τελευτήσασι δόξαν παρασκευάζει, κἀκείνων μὲν τοῖς φαύλοις μέτεστι, τούτου δὲ τοῖς μοχθηροῖς ἀδύνατον

[1] τὸ δὲ or τὰ δὲ Γ: ἡ δὲ vulg.

[a] Isocrates' defence of his advice to the young Nicocles in *Antid.* 70 applies here. See *To Nicocles*, introd.

closest attention to our health when we recall the pains which spring from disease.

Pattern after the character of kings, and follow closely their ways. For you will thus be thought to approve them and emulate them, and as a result you will have greater esteem in the eyes of the multitude and a surer hold on the favour of royalty. Obey the laws which have been laid down by kings, but consider their manner of life your highest law. For just as one who is a citizen in a democracy must pay court to the multitude, so also one who lives under a monarchy should revere the king.[a]

When you are placed in authority, do not employ any unworthy person in your administration; for people will blame you for any mistakes which he may make. Retire from your public trusts, not more wealthy, but more highly esteemed; for the praise of a people is better than many possessions.

Never support or defend a bad cause, for people will suspect that you yourself do the things which you aid others in doing.

Put yourself in a position in which you have the power to take advantage, but refrain when you have your fair share, so that men may think that you strive for justice, not from weakness, but from a sense of equity. Prefer honest poverty to unjust wealth;[b] for justice is better than riches in that riches profit us only while we live, while justice provides us glory even after we are dead, and while riches are shared by bad men, justice is a thing in

[b] *Cf.* Theognis, 145-8:

βούλεο δ' εὐσεβέων ὀλίγοις σὺν χρήμασιν οἰκεῖν
ἢ πλουτεῖν, ἀδίκως χρημάτα πασάμενος.
ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή ἐστιν,
πᾶς δέ τ' ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, Κύρνε, δίκαιος ἐών.

39 μεταλαβεῖν. μηδένα ζήλου τῶν ἐξ ἀδικίας κερδαινόντων, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποδέχου τοὺς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ζημιωθέντας· οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι τῶν ἀδίκων εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐλπίσι γε σπουδαίαις ὑπερέχουσιν.

40 Πάντων μὲν ἐπιμελοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν σαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἄσκει· μέγιστον γὰρ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ νοῦς ἀγαθὸς ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι.
[11] πειρῶ τῷ μὲν σώματι εἶναι φιλόπονος, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ φιλόσοφος, ἵνα τῷ μὲν ἐπιτελεῖν δύνῃ τὰ δόξαντα, τῇ δὲ προορᾶν ἐπίστῃ τὰ συμφέροντα.

41 Πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μέλλῃς ἐρεῖν, πρότερον ἐπισκόπει τῇ γνώμῃ· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἡ γλῶττα προτρέχει τῆς διανοίας. δύο ποιοῦ καιροὺς τοῦ λέγειν, ἢ περὶ ὧν οἶσθα σαφῶς, ἢ περὶ ὧν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ μόνοις ὁ λόγος τῆς σιγῆς κρείττων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄμεινον σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν.

42 Νόμιζε μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον· οὕτω γὰρ οὔτ' εὐτυχῶν ἔσει περιχαρὴς οὔτε δυστυχῶν περίλυπος. χαῖρε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι

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[a] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 32 ; Theognis, 315-18:

πολλοί τοι πλουτοῦσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·
  ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεί,
  χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.

[b] This suggests the noble passage on just living in Isocrates' *Peace*, 34. *Cf. Paneg.* 28 and note. Life beyond this life is a "hope" in Isocrates; what he is sure of is the immortality of fame. See *Phil.* 134.

[c] From Periander. See Stob. *Flor.* iii. 56: Περίανδρος ἐρωτηθείς, τί μέγιστον ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ, εἶπε, φρένες ἀγαθαὶ ἐν σώματι ἀνθρώπου.

[d] From Chilo. See Diog. Laert. i. 70: ἡ γλῶσσά σου μὴ προτρεχέτω τοῦ νοῦ.

which the wicked can have no part.[a] Never emulate those who seek to gain by injustice, but cleave rather to those who have suffered loss in the cause of justice; for if the just have no other advantage over the unjust, at any rate they surpass them in their high hopes.[b]

Give careful heed to all that concerns your life, but above all train your own intellect; for the greatest thing in the smallest compass is a sound mind in a human body.[c] Strive with your body to be a lover of toil, and with your soul to be a lover of wisdom, in order that with the one you may have the strength to carry out your resolves, and with the other the intelligence to foresee what is for your good.

Always when you are about to say anything, first weigh it in your mind; for with many the tongue outruns the thought.[d] Let there be but two occasions for speech—when the subject is one which you thoroughly know and when it is one on which you are compelled to speak. On these occasions alone is speech better than silence; on all others, it is better to be silent than to speak.

Consider that nothing in human life is stable;[e] for then you will not exult overmuch in prosperity, nor grieve overmuch in adversity.[f] Rejoice over the

[e] *Cf.* 29; Theognis, 585.

[f] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 39; *Panath.* 30; Theognis, 591 ff.:

τολμᾶν χρή, τὰ διδοῦσι θεοὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν,
ῥηιδίως δὲ φέρειν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ λάχος,
μήτε κακοῖσιν ἀσῶντα λίην φρένα, μήτ' ἀγαθοῖσιν
τερφθέντ' ἐξαπίνης, πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν.

and Kipling: "If you can meet with triumph and disaster and treat these two impostors just the same."

τῶν ἀγαθῶν, λυποῦ δὲ μετρίως ἐπὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις τῶν κακῶν, γίγνου δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδ' ἐν ἑτέροις ὢν κατάδηλος· ἄτοπον γὰρ τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἀποκρύπτειν, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν φανερὰν ἔχοντα περιπατεῖν.

43 Μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦ ψόγον ἢ κίνδυνον· δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι φοβερὰν τοῖς μὲν φαύλοις τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν, τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις τὴν ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἀδοξίαν. μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ ζῆν κατὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν· ἐὰν δέ ποτέ σοι συμβῇ κινδυνεύειν, ζήτει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου σωτηρίαν μετὰ καλῆς δόξης, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ' αἰσχρᾶς φήμης· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πάντων ἡ πεπρωμένη κατέκρινε, τὸ δὲ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἴδιον τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀπένειμεν.

44 Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς εἰ πολλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει σοι πρὸς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν ἡλικίαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο διέλαθεν· ἀλλὰ προειλόμην διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πραγματείας ἅμα τοῦ τε παρόντος βίου συμβουλίαν ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου παράγγελμα καταλιπεῖν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τούτων χρείαν ῥᾳδίως εἰδήσεις, τὸν δὲ μετ' εὐνοίας συμβουλεύοντα χαλεπῶς εὑρήσεις. ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρ' ἑτέρου τὰ λοιπὰ ζητῇς, ἀλλ' ἐντεῦθεν ὥσπερ ἐκ ταμιείου προφέρῃς, ᾠήθην δεῖν μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν ὧν ἔχω σοι συμβουλεύειν.

45 Πολλὴν δ' ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν σχοίην, εἰ μὴ διαμάρτοιμι τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔχων περὶ σοῦ τυγχάνω. [12] τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους εὑρήσομεν, ὥσπερ τῶν σιτίων τοῖς ἡδίστοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις χαίροντας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσι πλησιάζοντας, ἀλλ' οὐ

[a] *Cf.* Theognis, 1162.

[b] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 13.

good things which come to you, but grieve in moderation over the evils which befall you, and in either case do not expose your heart to others;[a] for it were strange to hide away one's treasure in the house, and yet walk about laying bare one's feelings to the world.

Be more careful in guarding against censure than against danger; for the wicked may well dread the end of life, but good men should dread ignominy during life. Strive by all means to live in security,[b] but if ever it falls to your lot to face the dangers of battle, seek to preserve your life, but with honour and not with disgrace; for death is the sentence which fate has passed on all mankind, but to die nobly is the special honour which nature has reserved for the good.

Do not be surprised that many things which I have said do not apply to you at your present age. For I also have not overlooked this fact, but I have deliberately chosen to employ this one treatise, not only to convey to you advice for your life now, but also to leave with you precepts for the years to come; for you will then readily perceive the application of my precepts, but you will not easily find a man who will give you friendly counsel. In order, therefore, that you may not seek the rest from another source, but that you may draw from this as from a treasure-house, I thought that I ought not to omit any of the counsels which I have to give you.

And I shall be most grateful to the gods if I am not disappointed in the opinion which I have of you. For, while we find that the great majority of other men seek the society of those friends who join them in their follies and not of those who admonish them, just as they prefer the most pleasant to the most

τοῖς νουθετοῦσι. σὲ δὲ νομίζω τοὐναντίον τούτων ἐγνωκέναι, τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενος τῇ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν φιλοπονίᾳ· τὸν γὰρ αὑτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα πράττειν ἐπιτάττοντα, τοῦτον εἰκὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν παρα-
46 καλοῦντας ἀποδέχεσθαι. μάλιστα δ' ἂν παροξυνθείης ὀρέγεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων, εἰ καταμάθοις ὅτι καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα γνησίως ἔχομεν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ῥᾳθυμεῖν καὶ τὰς πλησμονὰς ἀγαπᾶν εὐθὺς αἱ λῦπαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παραπεπήγασι, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοπονεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως τὸν αὑτοῦ βίον οἰκονομεῖν ἀεὶ τὰς τέρψεις εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ βεβαιοτέρας ἀποδίδωσι·
47 κἀκεῖ μὲν πρότερον ἡσθέντες ὕστερον ἐλυπήθημεν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ μετὰ τὰς λύπας τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχομεν. ἐν πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐχ οὕτω τῆς ἀρχῆς μνημονεύομεν, ὡς τῆς τελευτῆς αἴσθησιν λαμβάνομεν· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον οὐ δι' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ποιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἕνεκεν διαπονοῦμεν.

48 Ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν φαύλοις ἐνδέχεται τὰ τυχόντα πράττειν· εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῦ βίου τοιαύτην πεποίηνται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· τοῖς δὲ σπουδαίοις οὐχ οἷόντε τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμελεῖν διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας. πάντες γὰρ μισοῦσιν οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ὡς τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς μὲν φήσαντας εἶναι, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν τυχόντων δια-
49 φέροντας, εἰκότως· ὅπου γὰρ τοὺς τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ψευδομένους ἀποδοκιμάζομεν, ἦ πού γε τοὺς τῷ βίῳ παντὶ ἐλαττουμένους οὐ φαύλους εἶναι φήσο-

wholesome food,[a] you, I think, are minded otherwise, as I judge from the industry you display in your general education. For when one sets for himself the highest standard of conduct, it is probable that in his relation to others he will approve only of those who exhort him to virtue. But most of all would you be spurred on to strive for noble deeds if you should realize that it is from them most of all that we also derive pleasure in the true sense. For while the result of indolence and love of surfeit is that pain follows on the heels of pleasure,[b] on the other hand, devoted toil in the pursuit of virtue, and self-control in the ordering of one's life always yield delights that are pure and more abiding. In the former case we experience pain following upon pleasure, in the latter we enjoy pleasure after pain. In all our tasks we are not so much mindful of the beginning as we are sensible of the end; for we do most things in life not for themselves; it is rather for the sake of what results from them that we carry on our labours.

Bear in mind that while the base may be pardoned for acting without principle, since it is on such a foundation that from the first their lives have been built, yet the good may not neglect virtue without subjecting themselves to rebukes from many quarters; for all men despise less those who do wrong than those who have claimed to be respectable and yet are in fact no better than the common run; and rightly, too, for when we condemn those who deceive us in words alone, how, pray, can we deny the baseness of those who in their whole lives

[a] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 42-45.
[b] *Cf.* 16; Plato, *Phaedo*, 60 B.

μεν; δικαίως δ' ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπολάβοιμεν
μὴ μόνον εἰς αὑτοὺς ἁμαρτάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
τύχης εἶναι προδότας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς χρήματα
καὶ δόξαν καὶ φίλους ἐνεχείρισεν, οἱ δὲ σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἀναξίους τῆς ὑπαρχούσης εὐδαιμονίας
κατέστησαν.

50 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ θνητὸν ὄντα τῆς τῶν θεῶν στοχάσασθαι
[13] διανοίας, ἡγοῦμαι κἀκείνους ἐπὶ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις
μάλιστα δηλῶσαι πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς φαύλους
καὶ τοὺς σπουδαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Ζεὺς γὰρ
Ἡρακλέα καὶ Τάνταλον γεννήσας, ὡς οἱ μῦθοι
λέγουσι καὶ πάντες πιστεύουσι, τὸν μὲν διὰ τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ διὰ τὴν κακίαν
ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμωρίαις ἐκόλασεν.

51 Οἷς δεῖ παραδείγμασι χρωμένους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς
καλοκαγαθίας, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρη-
μένοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰ βέλτιστα
μανθάνειν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σοφιστῶν, εἴ τι χρήσιμον
52 εἰρήκασιν, ἀναγιγνώσκειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὴν μέλιτ-
ταν ὁρῶμεν ἐφ' ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ βλαστήματα καθ-
ιζάνουσαν, ἀφ' ἑκάστου δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα λαμβά-
νουσαν, οὕτω δεῖ καὶ τοὺς παιδείας ὀρεγομένους
μηδενὸς μὲν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, πανταχόθεν δὲ τὰ
χρήσιμα συλλέγειν. μόλις γὰρ ἄν τις ἐκ ταύτης
τῆς ἐπιμελείας τὰς τῆς φύσεως ἁμαρτίας ἐπι-
κρατήσειεν.

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[a] *Cf. Panath.* 243. [b] *Cf. To Nicocles*, 13.

belie their promise? [a] We should be right in judging that such men not only sin against themselves, but are traitors to fortune as well; for fortune places in their hands wealth and reputation and friends, but they, for their part, make themselves unworthy of the blessings which lie within their grasp.

And if a mortal may make conjecture of the thoughts of the gods, I think that they also have revealed very clearly in their treatment of their nearest kin how they are disposed to the good and base among men. For Zeus, who, as the myths relate and all men believe, was the father of Heracles and Tantalus, made the one immortal because of his virtue, and inflicted on the other the severest punishments because of his evil character.

With these examples before you, you should aspire to nobility of character, and not only abide by what I have said, but acquaint yourself with the best things in the poets as well, and learn from the other wise men also any useful lessons they have taught.[b] For just as we see the bee settling on all the flowers, and sipping the best from each, so also those who aspire to culture ought not to leave anything untasted, but should gather useful knowledge from every source.[c] For hardly even with these pains can they overcome the defects of nature.

[c] The figure is used by Lucretius in the same sense, *De rerum natura*, iii. 11-12:

> floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,
> omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta.

II. TO NICOCLES

INTRODUCTION

The "Cyprian" orations—*To Nicocles, Nicocles or the Cyprians*, and especially *Evagoras*—reveal a degree of familiarity with the state of affairs in the island of Cyprus under the reign of Evagoras which argues a first-hand knowledge and even a personal acquaintance with the royal house. It may well be that Isocrates was introduced to Evagoras and his family through the good offices of the Athenian general, Conon, or the latter's son, Timotheus, who had been an admiring student under Isocrates.[a]

The relations between Evagoras and Athens were close and cordial. He had joined forces with Conon at the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C.; and, in recognition of his services, the Athenians elected him to citizenship and set up his statue in the Ceramicus side by side with that of Conon. Isocrates eulogized him warmly in his *Evagoras* and elsewhere, with obvious sincerity and probably with justice. Traditionally descended from Teucer, the Salaminian hero, Evagoras founded the kingdom of New Salamis in Cyprus and made it an outpost of Hellenism, which he held vigorously against the barbarians of the island and of the neighbouring continent, encouraging in the meantime the friendliest intercourse between his kingdom and the Hellenic world, especially Athens.[b]

[a] See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 270.
[b] See *Evagoras*, 50.

He died in 374 B.C.; and was succeeded by his son, Nicocles. It was probably shortly after this that Isocrates presented to the young king this compendium of advice on how a ruler should conduct himself toward his subjects. The discourse is written in the somewhat formal tone of a master to a pupil, and it is probable that Nicocles had been a member of Isocrates' school.[a] At any rate it is clear that Nicocles appreciated the orator and made him handsome presents.[b]

This discourse, like that addressed to Demonicus, is an ethical dissertation in which precepts of worldly wisdom are imperfectly blended with lofty sentiments, all somewhat loosely put together under different heads.[c]

Isocrates was no doubt criticized for the sympathy with monarchy which he here seems to betray ; for in the *Antidosis* he defends himself by saying that he expressed himself to Nicocles " as a free man and an Athenian should, not paying court to his wealth nor to his power, but pleading the cause of his subjects." [d]

[a] See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 270; *Evag.* 78 and *Antid.* 30.

[b] *Antid.* 40.

[c] Isocrates quotes at length from this discourse in the *Antidosis* and comments frankly on the loose manner in which the detached precepts are grouped (*Antid.* 68).

[d] *Antid.* 70.

ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΑ

[14] Οἱ μὲν εἰωθότες, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑμῖν ἐσθῆτας ἄγειν ἢ χαλκὸν ἢ χρυσὸν εἰργασμένον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν τοιούτων κτημάτων, ὧν αὐτοὶ
[15] μὲν ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουτεῖτε, λίαν ἔδοξαν εἶναί μοι καταφανεῖς οὐ δόσιν ἀλλ' ἐμπορίαν ποιούμενοι, καὶ πολὺ τεχνικώτερον αὐτὰ πωλοῦντες τῶν
2 ὁμολογούντων καπηλεύειν· ἡγησάμην δ' ἂν γενέσθαι ταύτην καλλίστην δωρεὰν καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ μάλιστα πρέπουσαν ἐμοί τε δοῦναι καὶ σοὶ λαβεῖν, εἰ δυνηθείην ὁρίσαι ποίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρεγόμενος καὶ τίνων[1] ἀπεχόμενος ἄριστ' ἂν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικοίης.

Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτας ἐστὶ πολλὰ τὰ παιδεύοντα, μάλιστα μὲν τὸ μὴ τρυφᾶν ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ βίου καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν βουλεύεσθαι,
3 ἔπειθ' οἱ νόμοι καθ' οὓς ἕκαστοι πολιτευόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι δ' ἡ παρρησία καὶ τὸ φανερῶς ἐξεῖναι τοῖς τε φίλοις ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἁμαρτίαις· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑποθήκας ὡς χρὴ ζῆν καταλελοίπασιν· ὥστ' ἐξ

[1] τίνων Γ : τίνων ἔργων vulg.

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[a] Echoed from Homer, *Odyssey*, xvi. 231.

II. TO NICOCLES

When men make it a habit, Nicocles, to bring to you who are rulers of kingdoms articles of dress or of bronze or of wrought gold,[a] or other such valuables of which they themselves have need and you have plenty, it seems to me all too evident that they are not engaged in giving but in bargaining, and that they are much more skilful in disposing of their wares than those who are professedly in trade. For my part, I should think that this would be the finest and the most serviceable present and the most suitable for me to give and for you to receive—if I could prescribe what pursuits you should aspire to and from what you should abstain in order to govern to the best advantage your state and kingdom.

For when men are in private life, many things contribute to their education: first and foremost, the absence of luxury among them, and the necessity they are under to take thought each day for their livelihood; next, the laws by which in each case their civic life is governed; furthermore, freedom of speech and the privilege which is openly granted to friends to rebuke and to enemies to attack each other's faults; besides, a number of the poets of earlier times[b] have left precepts which direct them how to live; so that, from all these influences, they

[b] Especially the "gnomic" poets mentioned in 43.

ἁπάντων τούτων εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς βελτίους γίγνεσθαι.
4 *τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' οὓς*
ἔδει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὰν εἰς
τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσιν, ἀνουθέτητοι διατελοῦσιν·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς οὐ
πλησιάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦσι.
καὶ γάρ τοι κύριοι γιγνόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων πλεί-
στων καὶ πραγμάτων μεγίστων, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς
χρῆσθαι ταύταις ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς πεποιήκασιν ὥστε
πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πότερόν ἐστιν ἄξιον ἑλέσθαι
τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἰδιωτευόντων μὲν ἐπιεικῶς δὲ
5 *πραττόντων, ἢ τὸν τῶν τυραννευόντων. ὅταν μὲν*
γὰρ ἀποβλέψωσιν εἰς τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τοὺς πλούτους
καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἰσοθέους ἅπαντες νομίζουσι
τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντας· ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐν-
θυμηθῶσι τοὺς φόβους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ
διεξιόντες ὁρῶσι τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ὧν ἥκιστα χρῆν δι-
εφθαρμένους, τοὺς δ' εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρ-
τεῖν ἠναγκασμένους, τοῖς δ' ἀμφότερα ταῦτα συμ-
βεβηκότα, πάλιν ὁπωσοῦν ζῆν ἡγοῦνται λυσιτελεῖν
μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἁπάσης τῆς
6 *'Ασίας βασιλεύειν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ*
[16] *τῆς ταραχῆς αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὥσπερ*
ἱερωσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὃ τῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων μέγιστόν ἐστι καὶ πλεί-
στης προνοίας δεόμενον.

Καθ' *ἑκάστην μὲν οὖν τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις*

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[a] The priestly office in Greece demanded care in the administration of ritual, but, apart from this, no special competence; it was often hereditary and sometimes filled by lot.

may reasonably be expected to become better men. Kings, however, have no such help ; on the contrary, they, who more than other men should be thoroughly trained, live all their lives, from the time when they are placed in authority, without admonition ; for the great majority of people do not come in contact with them, and those who are of their society consort with them to gain their favour. Indeed, although they are placed in authority over vast wealth and mighty affairs, they have brought it about because of their misuse of these advantages that many debate whether it were best to choose the life of men in private station who are reasonably prosperous, or the life of princes. For when men look at their honours, their wealth, and their powers, they all think that those who are in the position of kings are the equals of the gods ; but when they reflect on their fears and their dangers, and when, as they review the history of monarchs, they see instances where they have been slain by those from whom they least deserved that fate, other instances where they have been constrained to sin against those nearest and dearest to them, and still others where they have experienced both of these calamities, then they reverse their judgement and conclude that it is better to live in any fashion whatsoever than, at the price of such misfortunes, to rule over all Asia. And the cause of this inconsistency and confusion is that men believe that the office of king is, like that of priest,[a] one which any man can fill, whereas it is the most important of human functions and demands the greatest wisdom.

Now as to each particular course of action, it is

μάλιστα δύναιτο κατὰ τρόπον διοικεῖν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττειν τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγειν, τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ συμβουλεύειν· καθ' ὅλων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ὧν χρὴ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἃ δεῖ διατρίβειν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διελθεῖν.
7 εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσται τὸ δῶρον ἐξεργασθὲν ἄξιον τῆς ὑποθέσεως, χαλεπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων ἔτι μὲν ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις ὄντα τῶν συντιθέντων μεγάλας τὰς προσδοκίας παρέσχεν, ἐπιτελεσθέντα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιδειχθέντα πολὺ καταδεεστέραν τὴν δόξαν
8 τῆς ἐλπίδος ἔλαβεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τό γ' ἐπιχείρημα καλῶς ἔχει, τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ παραλελειμμένα καὶ νομοθετεῖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας παιδεύοντες ἐκείνους μόνον ὠφελοῦσιν· εἰ δέ τις τοὺς κρατοῦντας τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρέψειεν, ἀμφοτέρους ἂν ὀνήσειε, καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυναστείας ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἂν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς πολιτείας πραοτέρας ποιήσειεν.

9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον τί τῶν βασιλευόντων ἔργον ἐστίν· ἂν γὰρ ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὴν δύναμιν ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος καλῶς περιλάβωμεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἀποβλέποντες ἄμεινον καὶ περὶ τῶν μερῶν ἐροῦμεν. οἶμαι δὴ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι προσήκειν αὐτοῖς πόλιν δυστυχοῦσαν παῦσαι καὶ καλῶς πράττουσαν διαφυλάξαι καὶ μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ποιῆσαι· τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα τὰ συμπίπτοντα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην
10 τούτων ἕνεκα πρακτέον ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γε

the business of those who are at the time associated with a king to advise him how he may handle it in the best way possible, and how he may both preserve what is good and prevent disaster ; but as regards a king's conduct in general, I shall attempt to set forth the objects at which he should aim and the pursuits to which he should devote himself. Whether the gift when finished shall be worthy of the design, it is hard to tell at the beginning ; for many writings both in verse and in prose, while still in the minds of their composers, have aroused high expectations ; but when completed and shown to the world have won a repute far inferior to their promise. And yet the mere attempt is well worth while—to seek a field that has been neglected by others and lay down principles for monarchs ; for those who educate men in private stations benefit them alone, but if one can turn those who rule over the multitude toward a life of virtue, he will help both classes, both those who hold positions of authority and their subjects ; for he will give to kings a greater security in office and to the people a milder government.

First, then, we must consider what is the function of kings ; for if we can properly encompass the essence of the whole matter in a general principle [a] we shall, with this before us, speak to better purpose about its parts. I think that all would agree that it is a king's business to relieve the state when it is in distress, to maintain it in prosperity, and to make it great when it is small ; for it is with these ends in view that the other duties which present themselves day by day must be performed. And surely this

[a] For the habit of definition in Isocrates see General Introd. p. xvii.

φανερόν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ταῦτα δυνησομένους καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων βουλευομένους μὴ ῥᾳθυμεῖν μηδ' ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως φρονιμώτερον δια-
[17] κείσονται τῶν ἄλλων· δέδεικται γὰρ ὅτι τοιαύτας τὰς βασιλείας ἕξουσιν, οἵας ἂν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γνώμας
11 παρασκευάσωσιν. ὥστε οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν οὕτω προσήκει τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζειν, ὡς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν· ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πανηγύρεις οὐδὲν μέρος τιθέασιν τούτων τῶν ἄθλων, περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀγωνίζεσθε.

Ὧν ἐνθυμούμενον χρὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως ὅσον περ ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν ἄλλων προέχεις, τοσοῦτον
12 καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αὐτῶν διοίσεις. καὶ μὴ νόμιζε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασι χρησίμην εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βελτίους ἡμᾶς καὶ φρονιμωτέρους γίγνεσθαι μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν· μηδὲ καταγνῷς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύτην δυστυχίαν, ὡς περὶ μὲν τὰ θηρία τέχνας εὑρήκαμεν αἷς αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμεροῦμεν καὶ πλείονος ἀξίας ποιοῦμεν, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἂν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὠφελήσαιμεν. ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ τῆς παιδεύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας μάλιστα[1] δυναμένης τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν εὐεργετεῖν,
13 οὕτω διάκεισο τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τῶν τε παρόντων τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις πλησίαζε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὓς ἂν δύνῃ μεταπέμπου, καὶ μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν μηδενὸς οἴου δεῖν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀκροατὴς γίγνου τῶν δὲ μαθητής, καὶ παρασκεύαζε σεαυτὸν τῶν μὲν ἐλαττόνων κριτὴν τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἀγωνιστήν·

[1] μάλιστα om. Bekker.

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[a] *Cf. Evag.* 41.

[b] *Cf. To Dem.* 12.

[c] This thought and comparison is elaborated with verbal

much is clear, that those who are able to do all this, and who pronounce on matters of so great moment, must not be indolent nor careless, but must see to it that they are superior to all others in intelligence ; for it is evident that they will reign well or ill according to the manner in which they equip their own minds.[a] Therefore, no athlete is so called upon to train his body as is a king to train his soul ;[b] for not all the public festivals in the world offer a prize comparable to those for which you who are kings strive every day of your lives.

This thought you must lay to heart, and see to it that in proportion as you are above the others in rank so shall you surpass them in virtue ; and do not hold the view that while diligence is of use in all other matters it is of no avail to make us better and wiser ; and do not deem us, the human kind, so unfortunate that, although in dealing with wild beasts we have discovered arts by which we tame their spirits and increase their worth, yet in our own case we are powerless to help ourselves in the pursuit of virtue.[c] On the contrary, be convinced that education and diligence are in the highest degree potent to improve our nature, and associate yourself with the wisest of those who are about you and send for the wisest men from abroad whenever this is possible. And do not imagine that you can afford to be ignorant of any one either of the famous poets or of the sages ; rather you should listen to the poets and learn from the sages and so equip your mind to judge those who are inferior and to emulate those who are

echoes from here in *Antid.* 209-214. *Cf.* the debate on whether virtue can be taught : Theognis, 429 ; Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 19 ff. ; Plato, *Meno* 95 E. A conservative opinion is expressed on the question by Isocrates in *Antid.* 209-214.

διὰ γὰρ τούτων τῶν γυμνασίων τάχιστ᾿ ἂν γένοιο
τοιοῦτος, οἷον ὑπεθέμεθα δεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὀρθῶς
βασιλεύσοντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς χρὴ διοικήσοντα.
14 μάλιστα δ᾿ ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σαυτοῦ παρακληθείης, εἰ
δεινὸν ἡγήσαιο τοὺς χείρους τῶν βελτιόνων ἄρχειν
καὶ τοὺς ἀνοητοτέρους τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις προσ-
τάττειν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν ἐρρωμενεστέρως τὴν τῶν
ἄλλων ἄνοιαν ἀτιμάσῃς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τὴν
αὑτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσκήσεις.

15 Ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντάς
τι τῶν δεόντων ποιήσειν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φιλ-
άνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ καὶ φιλόπολιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππων
οὔτε κυνῶν οὔτ᾿ ἀνδρῶν οὔτ᾿ ἄλλου πράγματος οὐ-
δενὸς οἷόντε καλῶς ἄρχειν, ἂν μή τις χαίρῃ τούτοις
ὧν αὐτὸν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. μελέτω σοι
τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦ κεχαρισμένως
[18] 16 αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, γιγνώσκων ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχιῶν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν αὗται πλεῖστον χρόνον
διαμένουσιν, αἵ τινες ἂν ἄριστα τὸ πλῆθος θερα-
πεύωσιν. καλῶς δὲ δημαγωγήσεις, ἐὰν μήθ᾿
ὑβρίζειν τὸν ὄχλον ἐᾷς μήθ᾿ ὑβριζόμενον περιορᾷς,
ἀλλὰ σκοπῇς ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν τὰς τιμὰς
ἕξουσιν, οἱ δ᾿ ἄλλοι μηδὲν ἀδικήσονται· ταῦτα γὰρ
στοιχεῖα πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα χρηστῆς πολιτείας
ἐστίν.

17 Τῶν προσταγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
κίνει καὶ μετατίθει τὰ μὴ καλῶς καθεστῶτα, καὶ
μάλιστα μὲν εὑρετὴς γίγνου τῶν βελτίστων, εἰ δὲ

superior to yourself; for it is through this training that you can soonest become such a man as we have assumed that one must be who is to perform properly the duties of a king, and to govern the state as he should. But[a] the strongest challenge to your task you will find in yourself, if only you consider it monstrous that the worse should rule the better,[b] and that the more foolish should give orders to men of greater wisdom; for the more vigorously you condemn folly in others, the more diligently will you train your own understanding.

This, then, should be the starting-point for those who set out to do their duty. But, in addition, one must be a lover of men and a lover of his country; for neither horses nor dogs nor men nor any other thing can be properly controlled except by one who takes pleasure in the objects for which it is his duty to care. You must care for the people and make it your first consideration to rule acceptably to them, knowing that all governments—oligarchies as well as the others—have the longest life when they best serve the masses. You will be a wise leader of the people if you do not allow the multitude either to do or to suffer outrage, but see to it that the best among them shall have the honours,[c] while the rest shall suffer no impairment of their rights; for these are the first and most important elements of good government.

When public ordinances and institutions are not well founded, alter and change them. If possible, originate for yourself what is best for your country,

[a] The passage from here to 39 is quoted in a somewhat abbreviated form in *Antidosis* 73.

[b] *Cf. Nicocl.* 14 ff.

[c] *Cf. Nicocl.* 14.

μή, μιμοῦ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.
ζήτει νόμους τὸ μὲν σύμπαν δικαίους καὶ συμ-
φέροντας καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους, πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις οἵ τινες τὰς μὲν ἀμφισβητήσεις ὡς ἐλα-
χίστας τὰς δὲ διαλύσεις ὡς οἷόντε ταχίστας τοῖς
πολίταις ποιοῦσι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα προσεῖναι δεῖ
18 τοῖς καλῶς κειμένοις νόμοις. τὰς μὲν ἐργασίας
αὐτοῖς καθίστη κερδαλέας, τὰς δὲ πραγματείας
ἐπιζημίους, ἵνα τὰς μὲν φεύγωσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς
προθυμότερον ἔχωσιν. τὰς κρίσεις ποιοῦ περὶ ὧν
ἂν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητῶσι, μὴ πρὸς χάριν
μηδ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν γίγνωσκε· καὶ γὰρ πρέπει καὶ συμφέρει τὴν
τῶν βασιλέων γνώμην ἀκινήτως ἔχειν περὶ τῶν
δικαίων, ὥσπερ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς καλῶς κειμένους.
19 οἴκει τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον,
ταῖς μὲν κατασκευαῖς λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς,
ταῖς δὲ πράξεσιν ἀκριβῶς, ἵν' εὐδοκιμῇς ἅμα καὶ
διαρκῇς. τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐπιδείκνυσο μηδ' ἐν
μιᾷ τῶν πολυτελειῶν τῶν εὐθὺς ἀφανιζομένων,
ἀλλ' ἔν τε τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν
κτημάτων καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων εὐεργεσίαις· τὰ γὰρ
τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀναλωμάτων αὐτῷ τε σοὶ παραμενεῖ,
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πλείονος ἄξια τῶν δεδα-
πανημένων καταλείψεις.

20 Τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ποίει μὲν ὡς οἱ πρόγονοι
κατέδειξαν, ἡγοῦ δὲ θῦμα τοῦτο κάλλιστον εἶναι
καὶ θεραπείαν μεγίστην, ἂν ὡς βέλτιστον καὶ
δικαιότατον σαυτὸν παρέχῃς· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐλπὶς
[19] τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ τοὺς ἱερεῖα πολλὰ καταβάλλοντας

but, failing in this, imitate what is good in other countries. Seek laws that are altogether just and expedient and consistent with each other and, moreover, those which cause the fewest possible controversies and bring about the speediest possible settlements for your citizens; for all these qualities should be found in wise legislation. Make industry profitable for your people and lawsuits detrimental, in order that they may shun the latter and embrace the former with greater willingness. In pronouncing on matters about which there is mutual dispute, do not render decisions which exhibit favouritism or inconsistency, but let your verdicts on the same issues be always the same; for it is both right and expedient that the judgements of kings on questions of justice should be invariable, like wisely ordained laws. Manage the city as you would your ancestral estate: in the matter of its appointments, splendidly and royally; in the matter of its revenues, strictly, in order that you may possess the good opinion of your people and at the same time have sufficient means. Display magnificence, not in any of the extravagant outlays which straightway vanish, but in the ways which I have mentioned, and in the beauty of the objects which you possess, and in the benefits which you bestow upon your friends; for such expenditures will not be lost to you while you live, and you will leave to those who follow you a heritage worth more than what you have spent.

In the worship of the gods, follow the example of your ancestors, but believe that the noblest sacrifice and the greatest devotion is to show yourself in the highest degree a good and just man; for such men have greater hope of enjoying a blessing from

πράξειν τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθόν. τίμα ταῖς μὲν
ἀρχαῖς τῶν φίλων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, ταῖς δ᾽ ἀλη-
21 θείαις αὐταῖς τοὺς εὐνουστάτους. φυλακὴν ἀσφα-
λεστάτην ἡγοῦ τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τήν τε τῶν
φίλων ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὔνοιαν καὶ
τὴν σαυτοῦ φρόνησιν· διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ κτᾶσθαι
καὶ σώζειν τὰς τυραννίδας μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τις δύναιτο.
κήδου τῶν οἴκων τῶν πολιτικῶν, καὶ νόμιζε καὶ
τοὺς δαπανῶντας ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν ἀναλίσκειν καὶ
τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰ σὰ πλείω ποιεῖν· ἅπαντα
γὰρ τὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖα τῶν καλῶς
22 βασιλευόντων ἐστί. διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὴν
ἀλήθειαν οὕτω φαίνου προτιμῶν, ὥστε πιστοτέ-
ρους εἶναι τοὺς σοὺς λόγους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τῶν
ἄλλων ὅρκους. ἅπασι μὲν τοῖς ξένοις ἀσφαλῆ
τὴν πόλιν πάρεχε καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια νόμιμον,
περὶ πλείστου δὲ ποιοῦ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων μὴ τοὺς
σοὶ δωρεὰς ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ λαμβά-
νειν ἀξιοῦντας· τιμῶν γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους μᾶλλον
23 παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμήσεις. τοὺς πολλοὺς
φόβους ἐξαίρει τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ βούλου περι-
δεεῖς εἶναι τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας· ὅπως γὰρ ἂν τοὺς
ἄλλους πρὸς σαυτὸν διαθῇς, οὕτω καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἐκεί-
νους ἕξεις. ποίει μὲν μηδὲν μετ᾽ ὀργῆς, δόκει δὲ
τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅταν σοι καιρὸς ᾖ. δεινὸς μὲν φαίνου
τῷ μηδέν σε λανθάνειν τῶν γιγνομένων, πρᾶος δὲ
τῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ἐλάττους ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτανο-
μένων.
24 Ἀρχικὸς εἶναι βούλου μὴ χαλεπότητι μηδὲ
τῷ σφόδρα κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντας ἡττᾶσθαι
τῆς σῆς διανοίας καὶ νομίζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὑτῶν

[a] *Cf. To Dem.* 39 and note.

the gods [a] than those who slaughter many victims. Honour with office those of your friends who are nearest of kin, but honour in very truth those who are the most loyal. Believe that your staunchest body-guard lies in the virtue of your friends, the loyalty of your citizens and your own wisdom ; [b] for it is through these that one can best acquire as well as keep the powers of royalty Watch over the estates of your citizens, and consider that the spenders are paying from your pocket, and the workers are adding to your wealth ; for all the property of those who live in the state belongs to kings who rule them well. Throughout all your life show that you value truth so highly that your word is more to be trusted than the oaths of other men.[c] To all foreigners, see that the city offers security and good faith in its engagements ; and in your treatment of those who come from abroad, make the most, not of those who bring you gifts, but of those who expect to receive gifts from you ; for by honouring such men you will have greater esteem from the rest of the world. Deliver your citizens from their many fears, and be not willing that dread should beset men who have done no wrong ; for even as you dispose others toward you, so you will feel toward them. Do nothing in anger, but simulate anger when the occasion demands it. Show yourself stern by overlooking nothing which men do, but kind by making the punishment less than the offence.

Be not willing to show your authority by harshness or by undue severity in punishment, but by causing your subjects one and all to defer to your judgement and to believe that your plans for their welfare are

[b] *Cf. Helen* 37. [c] *Cf. Paneg.* 81.

σωτηρίας ἄμεινον ἑαυτῶν σὲ βουλεύεσθαι. πολε-
μικὸς μὲν ἴσθι ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ ταῖς παρα-
σκευαῖς, εἰρηνικὸς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον
πλεονεκτεῖν. οὕτως ὁμίλει τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὰς
ἥττους, ὥσπερ ἂν τὰς κρείττους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
25 ἀξιώσειας. φιλονείκει μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ
ὧν ἂν κρατήσαντί σοι μέλλῃ συνοίσειν. φαύλους
ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς συμφερόντως ἡττωμένους, ἀλλὰ
[20] τοὺς μετὰ βλάβης περιγιγνομένους. μεγαλό-
φρονας νόμιζε μὴ τοὺς μείζω περιβαλλομένους ὧν
οἷοί τ' εἰσὶ κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καλῶν μὲν
ἐφιεμένους, ἐξεργάζεσθαι δὲ δυναμένους οἷς ἂν
26 ἐπιχειρῶσιν. ζήλου μὴ τοὺς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν κτη-
σαμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄριστα τῇ παρούσῃ χρησα-
μένους, καὶ νόμιζε τελέως εὐδαιμονήσειν οὐκ ἐὰν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων μετὰ φόβων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ
κακίας ἄρξῃς, ἀλλ' ἂν τοιοῦτος ὢν οἷον χρὴ καὶ
πράττων ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μετρίων ἐπιθυμῇς
καὶ μηδενὸς τούτων ἀτυχῇς.
27 Φίλους κτῶ μὴ πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους, ἀλλὰ
τοὺς τῆς σῆς φύσεως ἀξίους ὄντας, μηδὲ μεθ' ὧν
ἥδιστα συνδιατρίψεις, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὧν ἄριστα τὴν
πόλιν διοικήσεις. ἀκριβεῖς ποιοῦ τὰς δοκιμασίας
τῶν συνόντων, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντες οἱ μή σοι πλησιά-
σαντες ὅμοιόν σε τοῖς χρωμένοις εἶναι νομιοῦσιν.
τοιούτους ἐφίστη τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς μὴ διὰ σοῦ
γιγνομένοις, ὡς αὐτὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἕξων ὧν ἂν
28 ἐκεῖνοι πράξωσιν. πιστοὺς ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἅπαν

[a] *Cf. Peace* 136.

[b] For the golden rule in the relations of states compare *Paneg.* 81. *Cf. To Demon.* 14 and note.

[c] *Cf. Nicocl.* 34.

better than their own. Be warlike in your knowledge of war and in your preparations for it, but peaceful in your avoidance of all unjust aggression.[a] Deal with weaker states as you would expect stronger states to deal with you.[b] Do not be contentious in all things, but only where it will profit you to have your own way. Do not think men weak who yield a point to their own advantage, but rather those who prevail to their own injury. Do not consider that the great souls are those who undertake more than they can achieve, but those who, having noble aims, are also able to accomplish whatever they attempt. Emulate, not those who have most widely extended their dominion, but those who have made best use of the power they already possess;[c] and believe that you will enjoy the utmost happiness, not if you rule over the whole world at the price of fears and dangers and baseness, but rather if, being the man you should be, and continuing to act as at the present moment, you set your heart on moderate achievements and fail in none of them.

Do not give your friendship to everyone who desires it, but only to those who are worthy of you; not to those whose society you will most enjoy, but to those with whose help you will best govern the state. Subject your associates to the most searching tests, knowing that all who are not in close touch with you will think that you are like those with whom you live. When you put men in charge of affairs which are not under your personal direction, be governed by the knowledge that you yourself will be held responsible for whatever they do. Regard as your most faithful friends, not those who praise

ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃς ἢ ποιῇς ἐπαινοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἐπιτιμῶντας. δίδου παρρησίαν
τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἂν ἀμφιγνοῇς, ἔχῃς
τοὺς συνδοκιμάσοντας. διόρα καὶ τοὺς τέχνῃ
κολακεύοντας καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐνοίας θεραπεύοντας,
ἵνα μὴ πλέον οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν χρηστῶν ἔχωσιν.
ἄκουε τοὺς λόγους τοὺς περὶ ἀλλήλων, καὶ πειρῶ
γνωρίζειν ἅμα τούς τε λέγοντας, ὁποῖοί τινές εἰσι,
29 καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγωσιν. ταῖς αὐταῖς κόλαζε
ζημίαις τοὺς ψευδῶς διαβάλλοντας, αἷσπερ τοὺς
ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

Ἄρχε σαυτοῦ μηδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ
τοῦθ' ἡγοῦ βασιλικώτατον, ἂν μηδεμιᾷ δουλεύῃς
τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀλλὰ κρατῇς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μᾶλλον
ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν. μηδεμίαν συνουσίαν εἰκῇ προσ-
δέχου μηδ' ἀλογίστως, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείναις ταῖς
διατριβαῖς ἔθιζε σαυτὸν χαίρειν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τ'
ἐπιδώσεις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βελτίων εἶναι δόξεις.
30 μὴ φαίνου φιλοτιμούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἃ
καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς διαπράξασθαι δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ'
ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μέγα φρονῶν, ἧς οὐδὲν μέρος τοῖς πονη-
ροῖς μέτεστιν. νόμιζε τῶν τιμῶν ἀληθεστάτας
εἶναι μὴ τὰς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ μετὰ δέους γιγνομέ-
[21] νας, ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες μᾶλλόν σου
τὴν γνώμην ἢ τὴν τύχην θαυμάζωσιν. λάνθανε
μέν, ἤν ἐπί τῳ σοι συμβῇ τῶν φαύλων χαίρειν, ἐν-
δείκνυσο δὲ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα σπουδάζων.

31 Μὴ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀξίου κοσμίως ζῆν τοὺς δὲ
βασιλεῖς ἀτάκτως, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ σωφροσύνην

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[a] *Cf. To Dem.* 21. [b] *Cf. To Dem.* 38.

everything you say or do, but those who criticize your mistakes. Grant freedom of speech to those who have good judgement, in order that when you are in doubt you may have friends who will help you to decide. Distinguish between those who artfully flatter and those who loyally serve you, that the base may not fare better than the good. Listen to what men say about each other and try to discern at the same time the character of those who speak and of those about whom they speak. Visit the same punishment on false-accusers as on evil-doers.

Govern yourself no less than your subjects, and consider that you are in the highest sense a king when you are a slave to no pleasure [a] but rule over your desires more firmly than over your people. Do not contract any intimacy heedlessly or without reflection, but accustom yourself to take pleasure in that society which will contribute to your advancement and heighten your fame in the eyes of the world. Do not show yourself ambitious for those things which lie within the power of base men also to achieve, but show that you pride yourself on virtue, in which base men have no part.[b] Consider that the truest respect is shown you, not in the public demonstrations which are inspired by fear, but when people in the privacy of their homes speak with admiration of your wisdom rather than of your fortune. Let it not be known of men if perchance you take delight in things of small account, but let the world see that you are zealous about matters of the greatest moment.

Do not think that while all other people should live with sobriety, kings may live with licence ; on the contrary, let your own self-control stand as an

παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καθίστη, γιγνώσκων ὅτι τὸ
τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἦθος ὁμοιοῦται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.
σημεῖον ἔστω σοι τοῦ καλῶς βασιλεύειν, ἂν τοὺς
ἀρχομένους ὁρᾷς εὐπορωτέρους καὶ σωφρονεστέ-
32 ρους γιγνομένους διὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. περὶ
πλείονος ποιοῦ δόξαν καλὴν ἢ πλοῦτον μέγαν τοῖς
παισὶ καταλιπεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ θνητός, ἡ δ᾽ ἀθάνατος,
καὶ δόξῃ μὲν χρήματα κτητά, δόξα δὲ χρημάτων
οὐκ ὠνητή, καὶ τὰ μὲν καὶ φαύλοις παραγίγνεται,
τὴν δ᾽ οὐχ οἷόντε ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τοὺς διενεγκόντας κτή-
σασθαι. τρύφα μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐσθῆσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ
τὸ σῶμα κόσμοις, καρτέρει δὲ ὡς χρὴ τοὺς
βασιλεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἵν᾽ οἱ
μὲν ὁρῶντες διὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἄξιόν σε τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι
νομίζωσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς
ῥώμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις γνώμην ἔχωσιν.
33 Ἐπισκόπει τοὺς λόγους ἀεὶ τοὺς σαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς
πράξεις, ἵν᾽ ὡς ἐλαχίστοις ἁμαρτήμασι περιπίπτῃς.
κράτιστον μὲν τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν,
ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυσκαταμαθήτως ἔχουσιν, ἐλλείπειν
αἱροῦ καὶ μὴ πλεονάζειν· αἱ γὰρ μετριότητες
μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἢ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἔνεισιν.
34 ἀστεῖος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ σεμνός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῇ
τυραννίδι πρέπει, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἁρ-
μόττει. χαλεπώτατον δὲ τοῦτο πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν
προσταγμάτων· εὑρήσεις γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς
μὲν σεμνυνομένους ψυχροὺς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ βουλο-

[a] *Cf. Nicocl.* 37; Cicero, *Ep. ad Fam.* i. 9. 12: "quales in republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives."

[b] *Cf. Nicocl.* 50.

[c] It is a commonplace of Greek ethics that "virtue" (wisdom, justice, temperance) and the good name which it ensures are enduring possessions in which the worthy only

example to the rest, realizing that the manners of the whole state are copied from its rulers.[a] Let it be a sign to you that you rule wisely if you see all your subjects growing more prosperous and more temperate because of your oversight. Consider it more important to leave to your children a good name than great riches; for riches endure for a day, a good name for all time; a good name may bring wealth,[b] but wealth cannot buy a good name; wealth comes even to men of no account, but a good name can only be acquired by men of superior merit.[c] Be sumptuous in your dress and personal adornment, but simple and severe, as befits a king, in your other habits, that those who see you may judge from your appearance that you are worthy of your office, and that those who are intimate with you may form the same opinion from your strength of soul.

Keep watch always on your words and actions, that you may fall into as few mistakes as possible. For while it is best to grasp your opportunities at exactly the right moment, yet, since they are difficult to discern, choose to fall short rather than to overreach them;[d] for the happy mean is to be found in defect rather than in excess. Try to combine courtesy with dignity; for dignity is in keeping with the position of a king and courtesy is becoming in his social intercourse. Yet no admonition is so difficult to carry out as this; for you will find that for the most part those who affect dignity are cold,

may share, as distinguished from such transitory goods as wealth, power, beauty, etc., which are shared even by the base. *Cf.* 30; *To Dem.* 6, 19, 38; *To Nicocl.* 32; *Phil.* 135 ff.

[d] *Cf.* Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 5; Cicero, *Orat.* xxii.: "etsi suus cuique rei modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum."

μένους ἀστείους εἶναι ταπεινοὺς φαινομένους. δεῖ δὲ χρῆσθαι μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις, τὴν δὲ συμφορὰν τὴν ἑκατέρᾳ προσοῦσαν διαφεύ-
35 γειν. ὅ τι ἂν ἀκριβῶσαι βουληθῇς ὧν ἐπίστασθαι προσήκει τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐμπειρίᾳ μέτιθι καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν τὰς ὁδούς σοι δείξει, τὸ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων γυμνάζεσθαι δύνασθαί σε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι ποιήσει.

[22] Θεώρει τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τὰ συμπίπτοντα καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις· ἂν γὰρ τὰ παρεληλυθότα μνημονεύῃς, ἄμεινον περὶ τῶν μελλόντων
36 βουλεύσει. δεινὸν ἡγοῦ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν τινας ἐθέλειν ἀποθνῄσκειν, ἵνα τελευτήσαντες ἐπαινεθῶσι, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς μὴ τολμᾶν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τούτοις, ἐξ ὧν ζῶντες εὐδοκιμήσουσιν. βούλου τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ σώματος καταλιπεῖν. μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σαυτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν· ἐὰν δ' ἀναγκασθῇς κινδυνεύειν, αἱροῦ καλῶς
37 τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχρῶς. ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις μέμνησο τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ φρόντιζε ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης πράξεις.

Μὴ περιίδῃς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν ἅπασαν ἅμα διαλυθεῖσαν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ θνητοῦ σώματος ἔτυχες, πειρῶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην κατα-
38 λιπεῖν. μελέτα περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων λέγειν, ἵνα συνεθισθῇς ὅμοια τοῖς εἰρημένοις φρονεῖν. ἅττ' ἂν σοι λογιζομένῳ φαίνηται βέλτιστα, ταῦτα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτέλει. ὧν τὰς δόξας ζηλοῖς,

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[a] *Cf. Phil.* 135.

[b] *Cf. To Dem.* 43.

while those who desire to be courteous appear to lower themselves; yet you should cultivate both these qualities and try to avoid the danger that attaches to each. Whenever you desire to gain a thorough understanding of such things as it is fitting that kings should know, pursue them by practice as well as by study; for study will show you the way, but training yourself in the actual doing of things will give you power to deal with affairs.

Reflect on the fortunes and accidents which befall both common men and kings, for if you are mindful of the past you will plan better for the future. Consider that where there are common men who are ready to lay down their lives [a] that they may be praised after they are dead, it is shameful for kings not to have the courage to pursue a course of conduct from which they will gain renown during their lives. Prefer to leave behind you as a memorial images of your character rather than of your body. Put forth every effort to preserve your own and your state's security, but if you are compelled to risk your life, choose to die with honour rather than to live in shame.[b] In all your actions remember that you are a king, and take care never to do anything which is beneath the dignity of your station.

Do not suffer your life to be at once wholly blotted out, but since you were allotted a perishable body, seek to leave behind an imperishable memorial of your soul.[c] Make it your practice to talk of things that are good and honourable, that your thoughts may through habit come to be like your words. Whatever seems to you upon careful thought to be the best course, put this into effect. If there are

[c] *Cf. Phil.* 134; *To Dem.* 39 and note.

μιμοῦ τὰς πράξεις. ἃ τοῖς αὑτοῦ παισὶν ἂν
συμβουλεύσειας, τούτοις αὐτὸς ἐμμένειν ἀξίου.
χρῶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἢ ζήτει βελτίω τούτων.
39 σοφοὺς νόμιζε μὴ τοὺς ἀκριβῶς περὶ μικρῶν
ἐρίζοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὖ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων λέ-
γοντας, μηδὲ τοὺς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονίαν
ὑπισχνουμένους, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐν πολλαῖς ἀπορίαις
ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέτρια μὲν περὶ αὑτῶν λέγοντας,
ὁμιλεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
δυναμένους, καὶ μὴ διαταραττομένους ἐν ταῖς τοῦ
βίου μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ μετρίως καὶ τὰς
συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας φέρειν ἐπισταμένους.
40 Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς,[1] εἰ πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων
ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ σὺ γιγνώσκεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο παρ-
έλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἠπιστάμην ὅτι τοσούτων ὄντων τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ μέν τι
[23] τούτων εἰρήκασιν, οἱ δ' ἀκηκόασιν, οἱ δ' ἑτέρους
ποιοῦντας ἑωράκασιν, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἐπι-
41 τηδεύοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις χρὴ
τούτοις[2] ζητεῖν τὰς καινότητας, ἐν οἷς οὔτε παρά-
δοξον οὔτ' ἄπιστον οὔτ' ἔξω τῶν νομιζομένων
οὐδὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτον χαριέ-
στατον, ὃς ἂν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ἐν ταῖς τῶν
ἄλλων διανοίαις ἀθροῖσαι τὰ πλεῖστα δυνηθῇ καὶ
φράσαι κάλλιστα περὶ αὐτῶν.
42 Ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνό μοι πρόδηλον ἦν, ὅτι τὰ συμ-
βουλεύοντα καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν συγγραμ-

[1] θαυμάσῃς Baiter: θαύμαζε MSS.
[2] ἐν τοῖς λόγοις χρὴ τούτοις Γ: ἐν τοῖς λόγοις χρὴ περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων vulg.

[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 188-189 and note.

men whose reputations you envy, imitate their deeds. Whatever advice you would give to your children, consent to follow it yourself. Make use of the precepts which I have given you or else seek better counsel. Regard as wise men, not those who dispute subtly about trifling matters, but those who speak well on the great issues ;[a] and not those who, being themselves in sorry straits, hold forth to others the promise of a prosperous fortune, but those who, while making modest claims for themselves, are able to deal with both affairs and men, and are not upset by the vicissitudes of existence, but have learned to bear moderately and bravely both the good and the evil chances of life.[b]

And do not be surprised that in what I have said there are many things which you know as well as I. This is not from inadvertence on my part, for I have realized all along that among so great a multitude both of mankind in general and of their rulers there are some who have uttered one or another of these precepts, some who have heard them, some who have observed other people put them into practice, and some who are carrying them out in their own lives. But the truth is that in discourses of this sort we should not seek novelties, for in these discourses it is not possible to say what is paradoxical or incredible or outside the circle of accepted belief; but, rather, we should regard that man as the most accomplished in this field who can collect the greatest number of ideas scattered among the thoughts of all the rest and present them in the best form.

Moreover, this has been clear to me from the first, that while all men think that those compositions,

[b] *Cf. To Dem.* 42 and note.

μάτων χρησιμώτατα μὲν ἅπαντες νομίζουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἥδιστά γ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς νουθετοῦντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐπαινοῦσι μέν, πλησιάζειν δὲ βούλονται τοῖς συν-
43 εξαμαρτάνουσιν ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοῖς ἀποτρέπουσιν. σημεῖον δ᾽ ἄν τις ποιήσαιτο τὴν Ἡσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν· καὶ γὰρ τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἱροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς
44 ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις. ἔτι δ᾽ εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνώμας, ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἐκεῖνοι μάλιστ᾽ ἐσπούδασαν, ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ πρὸς ταύτας διατεθεῖεν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν κωμῳδίας τῆς φαυλοτάτης ἢ τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων ἀκούσαιεν.

Καὶ τί δεῖ καθ᾽ ἓν ἕκαστον λέγοντα διατρίβειν;
45 ὅλως γὰρ εἰ ᾽θέλοιμεν σκοπεῖν τὰς φύσεις τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εὑρήσομεν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὔτε τῶν σιτίων χαίροντας τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοῖς καλλίστοις οὔτε τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις οὔτε τῶν θρεμμάτων[1] τοῖς ὠφελιμωτάτοις, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐναντίας τῷ συμφέροντι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔχοντας, καὶ δοκοῦντας καρτερικοὺς καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι τοὺς τῶν δεόν-
46 των τι ποιοῦντας· ὥστε πῶς ἄν τις τοῖς τοιούτοις

[1] *θρεμμάτων* Γ : *μαθημάτων* vulg.

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[a] *Cf. To Dem.* 45.

[b] Theognis and Phocylides (middle of sixth century) were the leading gnomic poets. Theognis was used in the schools, and we have over a thousand of his verses. Phocylides survives in but a few fragments. Hesiod is classed with

whether in verse or prose, are the most useful which counsel us how to live, yet it is certainly not to them that they listen with greatest pleasure; nay, they feel about these just as they feel about the people who admonish them; for while they praise the latter, they choose for associates [a] those who share in, and not those who would dissuade them from, their faults. As a case in point, one might cite the poetry of Hesiod and Theognis and Phocylides; [b] for these, they say, have proved the best counsellors for human conduct; but in spite of what they say, people prefer to occupy themselves with each other's follies rather than with the admonitions of these teachers. And, again, if one were to make a selection from the leading poets of their maxims, as we call them, into which they have put their best thought, men would show a similar attitude toward them also; for they would lend a readier ear to the cheapest comedy [c] than to the creations of such finished art.

Yet why should I spend time in giving single instances? For if we are willing to survey human nature as a whole, we shall find that the majority of men do not take pleasure in the food [d] that is the most wholesome, nor in the pursuits that are the most honourable, nor in the actions that are the noblest, nor in the creatures that are the most useful, but that they have tastes which are in every way contrary to their best interests, while they view those who have some regard for their duty as men of austere and laborious lives. How, then, can one

them because in his epic *The Works and Days* are scattered many maxims.

[c] Isocrates had a poor opinion of comedy, himself having been subjected to its licence. *Cf. Peace* 14.

[d] *Cf. To Dem.* 45.

ἢ παραινῶν ἢ διδάσκων ἢ χρήσιμόν τι λέγων
ἀρέσειεν; οἳ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις φθονοῦσι μὲν
[24] τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, ἁπλοῦς δ' ἡγοῦνται τοὺς νοῦν
οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἀληθείας τῶν πραγ-
μάτων φεύγουσιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν
ἴσασιν, ἀλλὰ λυποῦνται μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων λογιζό-
μενοι, χαίρουσι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων διαλεγό-
μενοι, βούλοιντο δ' ἂν τῷ σώματι κακοπαθῆσαι
μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ πονῆσαι καὶ σκέψασθαι περί
47 τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων. εὕροι δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἐν
μὲν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαις ἢ λοιδοροῦντας
ἢ λοιδορουμένους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις οὐ βουλευο-
μένους ἀλλ' εὐχομένους. λέγω δ' οὐ καθ' ἁπάν-
των, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐνόχων τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὄντων.
48 Ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν φανερόν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς βουλο-
μένους ἢ ποιεῖν ἢ γράφειν τι κεχαρισμένον τοῖς
πολλοῖς μὴ τοὺς ὠφελιμωτάτους τῶν λόγων ζητεῖν,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς μυθωδεστάτους· ἀκούοντες μὲν γὰρ τῶν
τοιούτων χαίρουσι, θεωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας
καὶ τὰς ἁμίλλας. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν
καὶ τοὺς πρώτους εὑρόντας τραγῳδίαν ἄξιον θαυ-
μάζειν, ὅτι κατιδόντες τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις κατεχρήσαντο πρὸς
49 τὴν ποίησιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς
πολέμους τοὺς τῶν ἡμιθέων ἐμυθολόγησεν, οἱ δὲ
τοὺς μύθους εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ πράξεις κατέστησαν,
ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀκουστοὺς ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ θεατοὺς
γενέσθαι. τοιούτων οὖν παραδειγμάτων ὑπαρχόν-
των, δέδεικται τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους
ψυχαγωγεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν νουθετεῖν καὶ συμ-

advise or teach or say anything of profit and yet please such people? For, besides what I have said of them, they look upon men of wisdom with suspicion, while they regard men of no understanding as open and sincere; and they so shun the verities of life that they do not even know their own interests: nay, it irks them to take account of their own business and it delights them to discuss the business of others; and they would rather be ill in body than exert the soul and give thought to anything in the line of duty. Observe them when they are in each other's company, and you will find them giving and taking abuse; observe them when they are by themselves, and you will find them occupied, not with plans, but with idle dreams. I am, however, speaking now not of all, but of those only who are open to the charges I have made.

This much, however, is clear, that those who aim to write anything in verse or prose which will make a popular appeal should seek out, not the most profitable discourses, but those which most abound in fictions; for the ear delights in these just as the eye delights in games and contests. Wherefore we may well admire the poet Homer and the first inventors of tragedy, seeing that they, with true insight into human nature, have embodied both kinds of pleasure in their poetry; for Homer has dressed the contests and battles of the demigods in myths, while the tragic poets have rendered the myths in the form of contests and action, so that they are presented, not to our ears alone, but to our eyes as well. With such models, then, before us, it is evident that those who desire to command the attention of their hearers must abstain from admoni-

βουλεύειν ἀφεκτέον, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λεκτέον οἷς
ὁρῶσι τοὺς ὄχλους μάλιστα χαίροντας.
50 Ταῦτα δὲ διῆλθον ἡγούμενος σὲ δεῖν, τὸν οὐχ
ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν βασιλεύοντα, μὴ
τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις, μηδὲ τὰ
σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων μηδὲ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦν-
τας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
τῶν πράξεων τῶν χρησίμων αὐτοὺς δοκιμάζειν,
51 ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ μὲν τῶν γυμνασίων τῶν τῆς
ψυχῆς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν
ὄντες, καί φασιν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐριστικῶν λόγων
[25] οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ δὲ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν
φρονιμωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῖς πλησιάζοντας,
ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν καλῶς
πεπαιδευμένον ἐξ ἑκάστου τούτων φαίνεσθαι βου-
52 λεύεσθαι δυνάμενον. χρὴ τοίνυν ἀφέμενον τῶν
ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπὶ τοῦ συνομολογουμένου λαμ-
βάνειν αὐτῶν τὸν ἔλεγχον, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν καιρῶν θεωρεῖν συμβουλεύοντας, εἰ δὲ μή,
καὶ καθ' ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων λέγοντας. καὶ
τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν γιγνώσκοντας τῶν δεόντων ἀπο-
δοκίμαζε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁ μηδὲν ὢν αὐτὸς χρή-
53 σιμος οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλον φρόνιμον ποιήσειεν), τοὺς δὲ
νοῦν ἔχοντας καὶ δυναμένους ὁρᾶν πλέον τι τῶν
ἄλλων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ θεράπευε, γιγνώ-
σκων ὅτι σύμβουλος ἀγαθὸς χρησιμώτατον καὶ
τυραννικώτατον ἁπάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἐστίν.
ἡγοῦ δὲ τούτους μεγίστην σοι ποιεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν,
οἵ τινες ἂν τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν σὴν πλεῖστ' ὠφελῆσαι
δυνηθῶσιν.
54 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἅ τε γιγνώσκω παρῄνεκα, καὶ

[a] See *Panath.* 26; *Antid.* 261; General Introduction, p. xxi.

tion and advice, and must say the kind of things which they see are most pleasing to the crowd.

I have dwelt on these matters because I think that you, who are not one of the multitude but a king over the multitude, ought not to be of the same mind as men at large; you ought not to judge what things are worthy or what men are wise by the standard of pleasure, but to appraise them in the light of conduct that is useful; especially, since the teachers of philosophy, however much they debate about the proper discipline of the soul (some contending that it is through disputation,[a] others that it is through political discussion, others that it is through other means that their disciples are to attain to greater wisdom), yet are all agreed on this, that the well-educated man must, as the result of his training in whatever discipline, show ability to deliberate and decide. You should, therefore, avoid what is in controversy and test men's value in the light of what is generally agreed upon, if possible taking careful note of them when they present their views on particular situations; or, if that is not possible, when they discuss general questions. And when they are altogether lacking in what they ought to know, reject them (for it is clear that if one is of no use in himself, neither can he make another man wise); but when they are intelligent and able to see farther than the rest, prize them and cherish them, knowing that a good counsellor is the most useful and the most princely of all possessions. And believe that those contribute most to the greatness of your reign who can contribute most to your understanding.

Now I, for my part, have offered you all the good counsels which I know, and I honour you with these

τιμῶ σε τούτοις οἷς τυγχάνω δυνάμενος· βούλου δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅπερ εἶπον ἀρχόμενος, μὴ τὰς εἰθισμένας ἄγειν σοι δωρεάς, ἃς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονος ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτας, αἷς κἂν σφόδρα χρῇ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν διαλείπῃς, οὐ κατατρίψεις, ἀλλὰ μείζους καὶ πλείονος ἀξίας[1] ποιήσεις.

[1] μείζους καὶ πλείονος ἀξίας Γ: μείζους om. Bekker.

gifts which I have at my command; and do you, recalling what I said in the beginning, desire that your other friends also shall bring you, not the usual presents, which you purchase at a much greater cost from those who give than from those who sell, but gifts of such a nature that, even though you make hard use of them every day without fail, you will never wear them out, but will, on the contrary, enlarge them and increase their worth.

III. NICOCLES OR THE CYPRIANS

INTRODUCTION

The circulation among the friends of Nicocles of the treatise directed to the young king on the duties of monarchs[a] no doubt prompted the suggestion that a companion piece be written on the duties of a king's subjects. Perhaps the hint came from Nicocles himself, who may have thought "that the perception of a king's obligations which the former work may have quickened in some Salaminians might be usefully compensated by a sense of their own."[b]

The fact that the "companion" discourse is put in the mouth of Nicocles does not necessarily signify that it was intended to be published as Nicocles' own composition, but more probably that Isocrates desired, in this way, to put himself in the king's place and state the case for monarchy from the royalist point of view.[c] We need not, however, regard his argument as a specious plea, "written to order."[d] Isocrates was not blind to the advantages of monarchy, and there was in his mind as the years went on a drift of sympathy away from what he

[a] *To Nicocles*, II.

[b] Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 80.

[c] Just as Herodotus puts a plea for one-man rule in the mouth of Dareius, iii. 82. In Isocrates' *Archidamus* we have a similar attempt to see a situation through another's eyes.

[d] So Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 86.

looked upon as the slackness and irresponsibility of contemporary democracy towards a more centralized and vigorous rule.[a] His ideal of government was the limited democracy of Solon, the virtues of which he regarded as a legacy from the monarchy which it succeeded;[b] and it is significant that the good points which he attributes to monarchy in *Nicocles* are elsewhere associated by him with the Athenian democracy as it was in the good old times before the "rule of the best" had given way to the "rule of the mob."[c] Indeed it may well be that the idealization of monarchy in *Nicocles* has in part the same purpose as his idealization of the early democracy of Athens in *Areopagiticus*, *Panegyricus*, and *Panathenaicus*—that of pointing a contrast to the weaknesses of popular government in his own time.

The discourse was written after Nicocles had ruled for some time,[d] probably between 372 and 365 B.C.[e]

[a] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 21.

[b] *Panath.* 138.

[c] Isocrates' views of the Athenian government are set forth fully in the *Areopagiticus* and in the *Panathenaicus*. See also General Introd. p. xxxviii, and Havet's essay on Isocrates in Cartelier's *Antidosis*, xli ff.

[d] See 63.

[e] Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 86.

ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ

[26] Εἰσί τινες οἳ δυσκόλως ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς λόγους
καὶ διαμέμφονται τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας, καί φασιν
αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς. ἡδέως ἂν οὖν πυ-
θοίμην τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων, διὰ τί τοὺς μὲν εὖ
λέγειν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ψέγουσι, τοὺς δ' ὀρθῶς πράτ-
τειν βουλομένους ἐπαινοῦσιν· εἰ γὰρ αἱ πλεονεξίαι
λυποῦσιν αὐτούς, πλείους καὶ μείζους ἐκ τῶν
2 ἔργων ἢ τῶν λόγων εὑρήσομεν γιγνομένας. ἔπειτα
κἀκεῖν' ἄτοπον εἰ λέληθεν αὐτούς, ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοὺς
[27] θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦμεν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦμεν
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύομεν οὐχ ἵνα τῶν
ἄλλων ἔλαττον ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ὡς μετὰ
πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον διάγωμεν. ὥστ' οὐ
κατηγορητέον τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐστί, δι'
ὧν ἄν τις μετ' ἀρετῆς πλεονεκτήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξαμαρτανόντων
ἢ τοῖς λόγοις ἐξαπατώντων καὶ μὴ δικαίως
χρωμένων αὐτοῖς.
3 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἐχόντων,
ὅπως οὐ καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην καὶ τὴν

[a] For Isocrates' use of the word "philosophy" as covering what we mean by "culture" and his identification of "discourse" with the cultivated life see General Introduction, pp. xxiii ff.

III. NICOCLES OR THE CYPRIANS

There are people who frown upon eloquence and censure men who study philosophy,[a] asserting that those who engage in such occupations do so, not for the sake of virtue, but for their own advantage. Now, I should be glad if those who take this position would tell me why they blame men who are ambitious to speak well, but applaud men who desire to act rightly; for if it is the pursuit of one's own advantage which gives them offence, we shall find that more and greater advantages are gained from actions than from speech. Moreover, it is passing strange if the fact has escaped them that we reverence the gods and practise justice, and cultivate the other virtues, not that we may be worse off than our fellows, but that we may pass our days in the enjoyment of as many good things as possible. They should not, therefore, condemn these means by which one may gain advantage [b] without sacrifice of virtue, but rather those men who do wrong in their actions or who deceive by their speech and put their eloquence to unjust uses.

I am astonished that those who hold the view to which I have just referred do not rail also against

[b] Advantage (in the good sense) which works no disadvantage to others. *Cf. Antid.* 275.

ἀνδρίαν κακῶς λέγουσιν. εἴπερ γὰρ διὰ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους πρὸς τοὺς λόγους χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι, προσήκει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτιμᾶν· φανήσονται γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν ταῦτα κεκτημένων ἐξαμαρτάνοντες καὶ
4 πολλοὺς διὰ τούτων κακῶς ποιοῦντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον, οὔτ᾽ εἴ τινες τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας τύπτουσι, τῆς ῥώμης κατηγορεῖν, οὔτε διὰ τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας οὓς οὐ δεῖ τὴν ἀνδρίαν λοιδορεῖν, οὔθ᾽ ὅλως τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ψέγειν, ὅσοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κακῶς χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένοις, τούτοις βλάπτειν τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ἐπιχειροῦσι.

5 Νῦν δ᾽ ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον περὶ ἑκάστου διορίζεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους δυσκόλως διάκεινται, καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτήκασιν ὥστ᾽ οὐκ αἴσθονται τοιούτῳ πράγματι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες, ὃ πάντων τῶν ἐνόντων ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιόν ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχομεν οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων διαφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐπορίαις καταδεέστεροι
6 τυγχάνομεν ὄντες· ἐγγενομένου δ᾽ ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουληθῶμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνελθόντες πόλεις ᾠκίσαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τέχνας εὕρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ δι᾽ ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα

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[a] Good things are bad if badly used. See Arist. *Nic. Eth.* 1094 b 17. *Cf.* Seneca, *Ep.* i. 5. 9: "multa bona nostra nobis nocent."

wealth and strength and courage; for if they are really hostile to eloquence because there are men who do wrong and speak falsehood, they ought to disparage as well all other good things; for there will be found also among men who possess these some who do wrong and use these advantages to the injury of many.[a] Nevertheless, it is not fair to decry strength because there are persons who assault people whom they encounter, nor to traduce courage because there are those who slay men wantonly, nor in general to transfer to things the depravity of men, but rather to put the blame on the men themselves who misuse the good things, and who, by the very powers which might help their fellow-countrymen, endeavour to do them harm.[b]

But the fact is that since they have not taken the trouble to make distinctions after this manner in each instance, they are ill-disposed to all eloquence; and they have gone so far astray as not to perceive that they are hostile to that power which of all the faculties that belong to the nature of man is the source of most of our blessings. For in the other powers which we possess we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and in strength and in other resources; but, because there has been implanted in us the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man

[b] The same argument is made at length in *Antid.* 251, 252, also in defence of eloquence.

7 λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας. οὗτος γὰρ
περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν
[28] καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἐνομοθέτησεν· ὧν μὴ διαταχθέν-
των οὐκ ἂν οἷοί τ' ἦμεν οἰκεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων.
τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐξελέγχομεν καὶ τοὺς
ἀγαθοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν. διὰ τούτου τούς τ' ἀνοή-
τους παιδεύομεν καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους δοκιμάζομεν·
τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τοῦ φρονεῖν εὖ μέγιστον
σημεῖον ποιούμεθα, καὶ λόγος ἀληθὴς καὶ νόμιμος
καὶ δίκαιος ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ πιστῆς εἴδωλόν
8 ἐστιν. μετὰ τούτου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητη-
σίμων ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων
σκοπούμεθα· ταῖς γὰρ πίστεσιν αἷς τοὺς ἄλλους
λέγοντες πείθομεν, ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις βουλευό-
μενοι χρώμεθα, καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μὲν καλοῦμεν
τοὺς ἐν τῷ πλήθει δυναμένους λέγειν, εὐβούλους
δὲ νομίζομεν οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἄριστα
9 περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διαλεχθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ συλ-
λήβδην περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν
τῶν φρονίμως πραττομένων εὑρήσομεν ἀλόγως
γιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν διανοη-
μάτων ἁπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον ὄντα, καὶ μάλιστα
χρωμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πλεῖστον νοῦν ἔχοντας·
ὥστε τοὺς τολμῶντας βλασφημεῖν περὶ τῶν παι-
δευόντων καὶ φιλοσοφούντων ὁμοίως ἄξιον μισεῖν
ὥσπερ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.
10 Ἐγὼ δ' ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους
τοὺς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους,

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[a] For power of speech as the faculty which has raised us from the life of beasts to that of civilized man see Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3. 11 ff. *Cf. Antid.* 273, *Paneg.* 48 ff., and Shelley: "He gave man speech and speech created thought."

which the power of speech has not helped us to establish.[a] For this it is which has laid down laws concerning things just and unjust, and things base and honourable ; and if it were not for these ordinances we should not be able to live with one another. It is by this also that we confute the bad and extol the good. Through this we educate the ignorant and appraise the wise ; for the power to speak well is taken as the surest index of a sound understanding, and discourse which is true and lawful and just is the outward image of a good and faithful soul. With this faculty we both contend against others on matters which are open to dispute and seek light for ourselves on things which are unknown ; for the same arguments which we use in persuading others when we speak in public, we employ also when we deliberate in our own thoughts ; and, while we call eloquent those who are able to speak before a crowd, we regard as sage those who most skilfully debate their problems in their own minds. And, if there is need to speak in brief summary of this power, we shall find that none of the things which are done with intelligence take place without the help of speech, but that in all our actions as well as in all our thoughts speech is our guide, and is most employed by those who have the most wisdom. Therefore, those who dare to speak with disrespect of educators and teachers of philosophy deserve our opprobrium no less than those who profane the sanctuaries of the gods.

I, myself, welcome all forms of discourse which are capable of benefiting us even in a small degree ;

[a] Isocrates refers to this passage in *Antid.* 253, and quotes exactly from sections 5-9.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καλλίστους ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βασιλικωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα πρέποντας ἐμοὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν παραινοῦντας, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ὅσοι διδάσκουσι τούς τε δυναστεύοντας ὡς δεῖ τῷ πλήθει χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ὡς χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας διακεῖσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὁρῶ τὰς πόλεις εὐδαιμονεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας γιγνομένας.

11 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕτερον, ὡς χρὴ τυραννεῖν, Ἰσοκράτους ἠκούσατε, τὸν δ᾽ ἐχόμενον, ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διελθεῖν, οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνον ὑπερβαλούμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς προσῆκόν μοι περὶ τούτων μάλιστα διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. εἰ μὲν
[29] γὰρ ἐμοῦ μὴ δηλώσαντος ἃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς διαμάρτοιτε τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑμῖν ὀργιζοίμην· εἰ δὲ προειπόντος ἐμοῦ μηδὲν γίγνοιτο τούτων, δικαίως ἂν ἤδη τοῖς μὴ πειθομένοις μεμφοίμην.

12 Ἡγοῦμαι δ᾽ οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα παρακαλέσαι καὶ προτρέψαι πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν ὑμᾶς τὰ ῥηθέντα καὶ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰ περὶ τὸ συμβουλεύειν μόνον γενοίμην καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπαριθμήσας ἀπαλλαγείην, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ προεπιδείξαιμι πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οὐδ᾽ ὅτι πάντα τὸν χρόνον μετὰ ταύτης οἰκοῦμεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι βελ-
13 τίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστιν, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἐγὼ ταύτην ἔχω τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ παρανόμως οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι᾽ ἐμαυτόν.

however, I regard those as the best and most worthy of a king, and most appropriate to me, which give directions on good morals and good government;[a] and especially those which teach how men in power should deal with the people, and how the rank and file should be disposed to their rulers. For I observe that it is through such discourses that states attain the highest prosperity and greatness.

On the former topic, how a ruler should act, you have heard Isocrates speak; on the following topic, what his subjects must do, I shall attempt to discourse, not with any thought of excelling him, but because this is the most fitting subject for me to discuss with you. For if I did not make clear what I desire you to do, I could not reasonably be angry with you if you were to mistake my purpose; but if, after I have announced my policy beforehand, none of my desires are carried out, then I should justly blame those who fail to obey me.

And I believe that I should most effectively exhort you and urge you to remember my words and heed them, not if I should confine myself to giving you advice and then, after counting out my precepts, make an end, but if, before doing this, I should prove to you, first, that you ought to be content with our present government, not only from necessity, nor because we have lived under it all our lives, but because it is the best of all governments; and, second, that I hold this office, not illegally nor as a usurper, but with the just sanction of gods and men, and by virtue of my earliest ancestors, and of my

[a] The aim of worthy oratory is proper conduct in private and in public life. See *Paneg.* 4, and General Introduction, pp. xxiv ff.

τούτων γὰρ προαποδειχθέντων τίς οὐκ αὐτὸς
αὑτοῦ καταγνώσεται τὴν μεγίστην ζημίαν, ἂν μὴ
πειθαρχῇ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συμβουλευθεῖσι καὶ
προσταχθεῖσιν;
14 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτειῶν (ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὑπο-
τιθέμενος ἠρξάμην) οἶμαι πᾶσι δοκεῖν δεινότατον
μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι τοὺς χρηστοὺς
καὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, δικαιότατον δὲ τὸ διωρίσθαι
περὶ τούτων καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἀνομοίους τῶν ὁμοίων
τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι κατὰ
15 τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστους. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ὀλιγαρχίαι καὶ
δημοκρατίαι τὰς ἰσότητας τοῖς μετέχουσι τῶν
πολιτειῶν ζητοῦσι, καὶ τοῦτ' εὐδοκιμεῖ παρ' αὐταῖς,
ἢν μηδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου δύνηται πλέον ἔχειν· ὃ
τοῖς πονηροῖς συμφέρον ἐστίν· αἱ δὲ μοναρχίαι
πλεῖστον μὲν νέμουσι τῷ βελτίστῳ, δεύτερον δὲ
τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον, τρίτον δὲ καὶ τέταρτον τοῖς
ἄλλοις κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ
πανταχοῦ καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ τό γε βούλημα τῆς
16 πολιτείας τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. καὶ μὲν δὴ διορᾶν καὶ
τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἅπαντες
ἂν τὰς τυραννίδας μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσαιεν. καίτοι
τίς οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τοιαύτης
[30] πολιτείας μετέχειν ἐν ᾗ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστὸς ὤν,
μᾶλλον ἢ φέρεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ γιγνω-
σκόμενος ὁποῖός τίς ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πραο-
τέραν τοσούτῳ δικαίως ἂν αὐτὴν εἶναι κρίνοιμεν,
ὅσῳ περ ῥᾷόν ἐστιν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γνώμῃ προσέχειν

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[a] A protest against the new "equality." *Cf. To Nicocles*, 14. In *Areop.* 21, 22 Isocrates praises the old democracy of Athens for recognizing ability and worth.

father and of myself. For, once these claims have been established, who will not condemn himself to the severest punishment if he fails to heed my counsels and commands?

Speaking, then, of forms of government (for this was the subject I set out to lay before you), I imagine that we all believe that it is altogether monstrous [a] that the good and the bad should be thought worthy of the same privileges, and that it is of the very essence of justice that distinctions should be made between them, and that those who are unlike should not be treated alike but should fare and be rewarded in each case according to their deserts. Now oligarchies and democracies seek equality for those who share in the administration of them; and the doctrine is in high favour in those governments that one man should not have the power to get more than another—a principle which works in the interest of the worthless! Monarchies, on the other hand, make the highest award to the best man, the next highest to the next best, and in the same proportion to the third and the fourth and so on. Even if this practice does not obtain everywhere, such at least is the intention of the polity. And, mark you, monarchies more than other governments keep an appraising eye upon the characters and actions of men, as everyone will admit. Who, then, that is of sound mind would not prefer to share in a form of government under which his own worth shall not pass unnoticed, rather than be lost in the hurly-burly of the mob and not be recognized for what he is? Furthermore, we should be right in pronouncing monarchy also a milder government, in proportion as it is easier to give heed to the will of

τὸν νοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διανοίαις ζητεῖν ἀρέσκειν.

17 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡδίων ἐστὶ καὶ πραοτέρα καὶ δικαιοτέρα, διὰ πλειόνων μὲν ἄν τις ἀποδείξειεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτων συνιδεῖν ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅσον αἱ μοναρχίαι πρὸς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν δεόντων διαφέρουσιν, οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστα θεωρήσαιμεν, εἰ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παρ' ἀλλήλας τιθέντες ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν αὐτάς. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰσιόντες πρότερον ἰδιῶται γίγνονται, πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τι τῶν τῆς
18 πόλεως καὶ λαβεῖν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν· οἱ δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἢν καὶ τὴν φύσιν καταδεεστέραν ἔχωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῖς γ' ἐμπειρίαις πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων προέχουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν πολλῶν καταμελοῦσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, οἱ δ' οὐδενὸς ὀλιγωροῦσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντα δεῖ δι' αὑτῶν γίγνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις διὰ τὰς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλοτιμίας λυμαίνονται τοῖς κοινοῖς· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντες, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτῳ φθονήσουσι, πάντων, ὡς οἷόντ' ἐστί, βέλτιστα
19 πράττουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὑστερίζουσι τῶν πραγμάτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις διατρίβουσιν, ἐπειδὰν δ' εἰς τὰ συνέδρια συνέλθωσιν, πλεονάκις ἄν τις αὐτοὺς εὕροι δια-

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[a] Party rivalry in the old Athenian democracy was carried on for the good of the state according to *Paneg.* 79. Not so in contemporary Athens, *Paneg.* 167.

[b] See Demosthenes' contrast between the checks and delays which were put upon him as leader of the Athenians

a single person than to seek to please many and manifold minds.

Now one might multiply arguments to prove that this form of government is more agreeable and mild and just than others; yet, even from those I have advanced it is easy to see this at a glance. As for its other advantages, we can best appreciate how far monarchies excel other governments in planning and carrying out any course of action required of them if we place their most important practices side by side and try to review them. In the first place, then, men who enter upon office for an annual term are retired to private life before they have gained any insight into public affairs or any experience in handling them; while men who are permanently in charge of the same duties, even though they fall short of the others in natural ability, at any rate have a great advantage over them in experience. In the next place, the former neglect many things, because each looks to the others to do them; while the latter neglect nothing, knowing that whatever is done depends upon their own efforts. Then again, men who live in oligarchies or democracies are led by their mutual rivalries to injure the commonwealth;[a] while those who live in monarchies, not having anyone to envy, do in all circumstances so far as possible what is best. Furthermore, the former are dilatory in action,[b] for they spend most of their time over their private concerns; and when they do assemble in council, you will find them more often quarrelling[c] with each other than deliberating

and Philip's freedom to act and strike quickly, *On the Crown*, 294. *Cf.* Demosthenes' *Philippic*, i. 40-46.

[c] For the selfish bickerings of the platform orators see *Panath.* 12.

φερομένους ἢ κοινῇ βουλευομένους· οἱ δ' οὔτε
συνεδρίων οὔτε χρόνων αὐτοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐπὶ ταῖς
πράξεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, ἀλλ'
20 ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ δέοντι πράττουσιν. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν
δυσμενῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ βούλοιντ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς πρὸ
αὑτῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' αὑτοῖς ὡς κάκιστα
διοικῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἵν' ὡς μεγίστην δόξαν αὐτοὶ
[31] λάβωσιν· οἱ δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου κύριοι τῶν
πραγμάτων ὄντες εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὰς
21 εὐνοίας ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· τοῖς γὰρ κοινοῖς
οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις, οἱ δ' ὡς ἰδίοις[1] προσέχουσι
τὸν νοῦν, καὶ συμβούλοις χρῶνται περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ
μὲν τῶν ἀστῶν τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις, οἱ δ' ἐξ
ἁπάντων ἐκλεξάμενοι τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις, καὶ
τιμῶσιν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις εἰπεῖν δυ-
ναμένους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπ-
ισταμένους.

22 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ
τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην γιγνομένοις αἱ μοναρχίαι
διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πλεον-
εξίας ἁπάσας περιειλήφασιν. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευά-
σασθαι δυνάμεις καὶ χρήσασθαι ταύταις, ὥστε καὶ
λαθεῖν καὶ φθῆναι,[2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεῖσαι, τοὺς δὲ
βιάσασθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς
ἄλλαις θεραπείαις προσαγαγέσθαι, μᾶλλον αἱ τυραν-
νίδες τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν οἷαί τ' εἰσίν. καὶ ταῦτ'

[1] οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις, οἱ δ' ὡς ἰδίοις] see Norlin, *Class. Phil.* xvii. p. 356: οἱ μὲν ὡς ἰδίοις, οἱ δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίοις MSS.
[2] φθῆναι Coray: ὀφθῆναι MSS.

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[a] But it was, he says elsewhere, the virtue of the old

together; while the latter, for whom no councils or times of meeting are prescribed, but who apply themselves to the state's business both day and night, do not let opportunities pass them by, but act in each case at the right moment. Again, the former are ill-disposed toward each other and would rather have their predecessors and their successors in office administer the state as badly as possible, in order that they may win for themselves as much credit as possible; while the latter, because they are in control of affairs throughout their lives, are at all times actuated by feelings of good will. But the greatest difference is this: men under other governments give attention to the affairs of state as if they were the concern of others; monarchs, as if they were their own concern;[a] and the former employ as their advisers on state affairs the most self-assertive of their citizens, while the latter single out and employ the most sagacious; and the former honour those who are skilful in haranguing the crowd, while the latter honour those who understand how to deal with affairs.

And not only in matters of ordinary routine and of daily occurrence do monarchies excel, but in war they have compassed every advantage;[b] for in raising troops, and handling them so as to mislead and forestall the enemy, and in winning people over, now by persuasion, now by force, now by bribery, now by other means of conciliation, one-man rule is more efficient than the other forms of government.

democracy that they did not slight the commonwealth, but cared for it as their personal concern, *Paneg.* 76; *Areop.* 24, 25.

[b] The same point is made by Demosthenes, *Olynthiac*, i. 4.

ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἄν τις οὐχ ἧττον ἢ τῶν λόγων
23 πιστεύσειεν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν
δύναμιν ἅπαντες ἴσμεν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος
γεγενημένην οὐ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φρόνησιν,
ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τὴν βασιλείαν τιμῶσι·
τοῦτο δὲ Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι παραλαβὼν
τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Σικελίαν ἀνάστατον γεγενημένην,
τὴν δ' αὑτοῦ πατρίδα πολιορκουμένην, οὐ μόνον
αὐτὴν τῶν παρόντων κινδύνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἐποίησεν·
24 ἔτι δὲ Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς
ἄριστα τῶν ἄλλων[1] πολιτευομένους, οἴκοι μὲν
ὀλιγαρχουμένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευο-
μένους. ἔχοι δ' ἄν τις ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν,[2]
τὴν μάλιστα τὰς τυραννίδας μισοῦσαν, ὅταν μὲν
πολλοὺς ἐκπέμψῃ στρατηγούς, ἀτυχοῦσαν, ὅταν δὲ
δι' ἑνὸς ποιήσηται τοὺς κινδύνους, κατορθοῦσαν.
25 Καίτοι πῶς ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ διὰ
τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων πλείστου τὰς μοναρχίας
ἀξίας οὔσας; φαίνονται γὰρ οἵ τε διὰ τέλους
τυραννευόμενοι μεγίστας δυνάμεις ἔχοντες, οἵ τε
[32] καλῶς ὀλιγαρχούμενοι, περὶ ἃ μάλιστα σπουδά-
ζουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἕνα μόνον στρατηγὸν οἱ δὲ βασιλέα
τῶν στρατοπέδων κύριον καθιστάντες, οἵ τε μισοῦν-
τες τὰς τυραννίδας, ὁπόταν πολλοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκ-
26 πέμψωσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττοντες. εἰ δὲ

[1] ἄλλων Blass: Ἑλλήνων MSS.
[2] πόλιν Γ: πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων vulg.

[a] Dionysius, the elder, became tyrant of Syracuse in 406 B.C.

[b] Socrates and his followers idealized, in contrast to the slackness of Athens, the rigorous rule of such states as Sparta and Crete. See, for example, Plato, *Crito* 52 E.

And of this one may be assured by facts no less than by words ; for, in the first place, we all know that the empire of the Persians attained its great magnitude, not because of the intelligence of the population, but because they more than other peoples respect the royal office ; secondly, that Dionysius,[a] the tyrant, taking charge of Sicily when the rest of it had been devastated by war and when his own country, Syracuse, was in a state of siege, not only delivered it from the dangers which then threatened, but also made it the greatest of Hellenic states ; and again, we know that while the Carthaginians and the Lacedaemonians, who are the best governed peoples of the world,[b] are ruled by oligarchies at home, yet, when they take the field, they are ruled by kings. One might also point out that the state[c] which more than any other abhors absolute rule meets with disaster when it sends out many generals,[d] and with success when it wages war under a single leader.

And, indeed, how could any one show more convincingly than through these instances that monarchy is the most excellent of governments? For we see that those who are permanently ruled by kings have the greatest powers ; that those who live in well-conducted oligarchies, when it comes to matters about which they are most concerned, appoint one man, in some cases a general, in others a king, to have full powers over their armies in the field ; and that those who abhor absolute rule, whenever they send out many leaders, fail to accomplish a single one of their designs. And, if there is need to

Aristotle couples in his praise, as Isocrates here, the Spartans and the Carthaginians, *Politics* 1272 b 24 ff.

[c] Athens.

[d] As in the disasters at Syracuse and Aegospotami.

δεῖ τι καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰπεῖν, λέγεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὸ Διὸς βασιλεύεσθαι. περὶ ὧν εἰ μὲν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος ἐστί, δῆλον ὅτι κἀκεῖνοι ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν προκρίνουσιν, εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν σαφὲς μηδεὶς οἶδεν, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰκάζοντες οὕτω περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπειλήφαμεν, σημεῖον ὅτι πάντες τὴν μοναρχίαν προτιμῶμεν· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτ' αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔφαμεν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὴν προέχειν ἐνομίζομεν.

27 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, ἅπαντα μὲν οὔθ' εὑρεῖν οὔτ' εἰπεῖν δυνατόν ἐστιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρός γε τὸ παρὸν ἀποχρώντως καὶ νῦν εἴρηται περὶ αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ προσηκόντως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν, πολὺ τούτου συντομώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμολογούμενος ὁ λόγος
28 ἐστίν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι Τεῦκρος μὲν ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προγόνους, πλεύσας δεῦρο καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν χώραν κατένειμεν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ Εὐαγόρας ἀπολεσάντων ἑτέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν πάλιν ἀνέλαβεν, ὑποστὰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους, καὶ τοσοῦτον μετέστησεν ὥστε μηκέτι Φοίνικας Σαλαμινίων τυραννεῖν, ἀλλ' ὧνπερ ἦν τὴν ἀρχήν, τούτους καὶ νῦν ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν;

29 Λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστιν ὧν προεθέμην περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ διελθεῖν ἵν' ἐπίστησθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ βασιλεύων, ὃς οὐ μόνον διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν δικαίως ἂν καὶ μείζονος τιμῆς ἢ τηλικαύτης ἠξιώθην. οἶμαι γὰρ ἐγὼ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι πλείστου τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀξίας εἶναι τήν

[a] For this history see introd. to II; Grote, *History of Greece* (new edition), ix. pp. 228 ff.; *Evagoras* 29-35.

speak also of things old in story, it is said that even the gods are ruled by Zeus as king. If the saying is true, it is clear that the gods also prefer this regime; but if, on the other hand, no one knows the truth about this matter, and we by our own conjecture have simply supposed it to be so, it is a proof that we all hold monarchy in the highest esteem; for we should never have said that the gods live under it if we did not believe it to be far superior to all other governments.

Now as to polities, while it is not possible either to search out or declare every detail in which they differ from each other, yet for our present purpose, at least, enough has been said. But to show that I hold my office by natural right is a story much sooner told and less open to dispute. For who does not know how Teucer, the founder of our race, taking with him the ancestors of the rest of our people, came hither over seas and built for them a city and portioned out the land; and that, after his other descendants had lost the throne, my father, Evagoras, won it back again by undergoing the greatest dangers, and wrought so great a change that Phoenicians no longer rule over Salaminians, while they, to whom it belonged in the beginning, are to-day in possession of the kingdom? [a]

Now, of the matters which I proposed to discuss, it remains for me to speak to you about myself, in order that you may realize that I, who rule over you, am of such character that, not only on account of my ancestors, but of myself also, I might justly claim even greater honour than I now enjoy. For I think you would all agree that the most sovereign

30 τε σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμᾶς τὸ καθ' αὑτὰς ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ 'θέλοιμεν σκοπεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς χρήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων, εὑρήσομεν τὰς μὲν μὴ μετεχούσας τούτων τῶν ἰδεῶν μεγάλων
[33] κακῶν αἰτίας οὔσας, τὰς δὲ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης γιγνομένας πολλὰ τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφελούσας. εἰ δή τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς εὐδοκίμησαν, ἡγοῦμαι κἀμοὶ προσήκειν τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης ἐκείνοις τυγχάνειν.

31 Τὴν μὲν οὖν δικαιοσύνην ἐκεῖθεν ἂν μάλιστα κατίδοιτε. παραλαβὼν γάρ, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθιστάμην, τὰ μὲν βασίλεια χρημάτων κενὰ καὶ πάντα κατηναλωμένα, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ταραχῆς μεστὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα καὶ φυλακῆς καὶ δαπάνης, εἰδὼς ἑτέρους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διορθουμένους καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὑτῶν πράττειν ἀναγκαζομένους, ὅμως οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς
32 τούτων διεφθάρην, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὁσίως καὶ καλῶς ἐπεμελήθην τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν ἐξ ὧν οἷόντ' ἦν αὐξηθῆναι καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. πρός τε γὰρ τοὺς πολίτας μετὰ τοιαύτης πραότητος προσηνέχθην, ὥστε μήτε φυγὰς μήτε θανάτους μήτε χρημάτων ἀποβολὰς μήτ' ἄλλην μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην συμφορὰν
33 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γεγενῆσθαι βασιλείας. ἀβάτου δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμῖν οὔσης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν

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[a] Almost the language of the Platonic doctrine of ideas.
[b] We may surmise that the death of the strong and

of the virtues are temperance and justice, since not only do they benefit us in themselves, but, if we should be minded to look into the natures, powers, and uses of human relations, we would find that those which do not partake [a] of these qualities are the causes of great evils, whereas those which are attended by temperance and justice are greatly beneficial to the life of man. If, then, any of my predecessors have gained renown for these virtues, I consider that it is also my right to enjoy the same renown.

As to my sense of justice, you can best observe it from these facts : [b] When I was established in power I found the royal treasury empty, all the revenues squandered, the affairs of the state in utter disorder and calling for great care, watchfulness, and outlay of money ; and, although I knew that rulers of the other sort in similar straits resort to every shift in order to right their own affairs, and that they feel constrained to do many things which are against their nature, nevertheless I did not fall a victim to any of these temptations ; nay, I attended so devotedly and honourably to my duties that I left nothing undone which could contribute to the greatness of the state and advance its prosperity ; and toward the citizens of the state I behaved with such mildness that no one has suffered exile or death or confiscation of property or any such misfortune during my reign. And though Hellas was closed to us because of the war which had arisen, and though we

resourceful Evagoras plunged the affairs of Salamis and of Cyprus into a state of confusion which was with difficulty reduced to order by his successor, but we possess no further details of this history than those which are here set down.

γεγενημένον, καὶ πανταχοῦ συλωμένων ἡμῶν, τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων διέλυσα, τοῖς μὲν ἅπαντ' ἀποτίνων, τοῖς δὲ μέρη, τῶν δ' ἀναβαλέσθαι δεόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὅπως ἠδυνάμην περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλλαττόμενος. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν τὴν νῆσον οἰκούντων δυσκόλως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένων, καὶ βασιλέως τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διηλλαγμένου τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ
34 τραχέως ἔχοντος, ἀμφότερα ταῦτα κατεπράϋνα, τῷ μὲν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς δίκαιον ἐμαυτὸν παρέχων. τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, ὥσθ' ἕτεροι μέν, ἢν καὶ μικρῷ μείζω τῶν ὁμόρων δύναμιν ἔχωσιν, ἀποτέμνονται τῆς γῆς καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲ τὴν διδομένην χώραν ἠξίωσα λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αἱροῦμαι μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ μόνον ἔχειν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κακίας πολλαπλασίαν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης
35 κτήσασθαι. καὶ τί δεῖ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον λέγοντα
[34] διατρίβειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλῶσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ; φανήσομαι γὰρ οὐδένα μὲν πώποτ' ἀδικήσας, πλείους δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὖ πεποιηκὼς καὶ μείζους δωρεὰς ἑκατέροις δεδωκὼς ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεύσαντες. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ προσποιουμένους χρημάτων εἶναι κρείττους τοιαύτας ὑπερβολὰς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὑτῶν.

36 Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης ἔτι μείζω τούτων ἔχω διελθεῖν. εἰδὼς γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους περὶ πλείστου ποιουμένους τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὑτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ μάλιστ' ὀργιζομένους

were being robbed on every side, I solved most of these difficulties, paying to some their claims in full, to others in part, asking some to postpone theirs, and satisfying others as to their complaints by whatever means I could. Furthermore, though the inhabitants of the island were hostile to me, and the Great King, while outwardly reconciled, was really in an ugly mood, I calmed and appeased both parties by assisting the King zealously and by treating the islanders justly. For I am so far from coveting what belongs to others that, while rulers of the other sort, when they are stronger than their neighbours by ever so little, cut off portions of their territory and seek to get the advantage of them, I did not think it right to take even the land which was offered to me, but prefer rather to hold through just means what is my own than to acquire through base means territory many times greater than that which I now possess. But why need I take the time to speak in detail, especially when I can make clear in a word the truth about myself? For it will be acknowledged that I have never wronged any man; that, on the contrary, I have been of service to many more of my own citizens and of the Hellenes at large and have bestowed upon them both greater gifts than all who have ruled before me put together. And surely those who pride themselves on justice and who profess to be above considerations of money ought to be able to speak in such high terms of their own conduct.

And now on the subject of temperance, also, I have still more important things to recount. For, since I realized that all men are most jealous for their wives and children, being above all quick to

τοῖς εἰς ταῦτ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τὴν
περὶ ταῦτα μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίαν γιγνομένην,
καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τῶν δυνα-
στευσάντων διὰ ταύτην ἀπολομένους, οὕτως ἔφυγον
τὰς αἰτίας ταύτας, ὥστ᾽ ἐξ οὗ τὴν βασιλείαν
ἔλαβον, οὐδενὶ φανήσομαι σώματι πεπλησιακὼς
37 πλὴν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γυναικός, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι κἀ-
κεῖνοι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν, ὅσοι περὶ
μὲν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν δίκαιοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες,
ἄλλοθεν δέ ποθεν αὑτοῖς ἐπορίσαντο τὰς ἡδονάς,
ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ἅμα μὲν ἐμαυτὸν ὡς πορρωτάτω
ποιῆσαι τῶν τοιούτων ὑποψιῶν, ἅμα δὲ παρά-
δειγμα καταστῆσαι τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τοῖς
ἄλλοις πολίταις, γιγνώσκων ὅτι φιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν
τούτοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὸν βίον διάγειν, ἐν οἷς
ἂν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς αὑτῶν ὁρῶσι διατρίβοντας.
38 Ἔπειτα καὶ προσήκειν ἡγησάμην τοσούτῳ τοὺς
βασιλεῖς βελτίους εἶναι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅσῳ περ καὶ
τὰς τιμὰς μείζους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι, καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν
ὅσοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους κοσμίως ζῆν ἀναγκάζουσιν,
αὐτοὶ δ᾽ αὑτοὺς μὴ σωφρονεστέρους τῶν ἀρχομέ-
39 νων παρέχουσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
πράξεων ἑώρων ἐγκρατεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς γιγνομέ-
νους, τῶν δ᾽ ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν περὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ
τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους ἡττωμένους·
ἐβουλήθην οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι καρτε-
ρεῖν δυνάμενον, ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων
[35] διοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ μέγα φρονούντων.
40 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλὴν κακίαν κατεγί-
γνωσκον, ὅσοι γυναῖκας λαβόντες καὶ κοινωνίαν
ποιησάμενοι παντὸς τοῦ βίου μὴ στέργουσιν οἷς

resent offences against them, and that wantonness in these relations is responsible for the greatest evils—many ere now, of princely rank as well as of private station, having lost their lives because of it—, I so strictly avoided all these grounds of offence that, from the time when I became king, no one can charge me with having approached any woman but my own wife. I was not, of course, unaware that those kings also are highly thought of by the multitude who are just in their dealings with their citizens, even though they provide themselves with pleasures from outside their households; but I desired both to put myself as far above such suspicions as possible and at the same time to set up my conduct as a pattern to my people, knowing that the multitude are likely to spend their lives in practices in which they see their rulers occupied.

Then again, I considered that it is also the duty of kings to be as much better than private citizens as they are superior to them in rank; and that those kings act contrary to all reason who compel their subjects to live decently but are themselves less continent than those over whom they rule. Moreover, I saw that while the majority of people are masters of themselves in other matters, even the best are slaves to the passions whose objects are boys and women; and therefore I wanted to show that I could be strong in those things in which I should be superior, not merely to people in general, but even to those who pride themselves on their virtue. Furthermore, I had no patience with the perversity of men who take women in marriage and make them partners in all the relations of life, and then are not satisfied with the compacts which they have

ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς αὑτῶν ἡδοναῖς λυποῦσι ταύτας ὑφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦσι λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἄλλας τινὰς κοινωνίας ἐπιεικεῖς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐξαμαρτάνουσιν· ἃς ἔδει τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον διαφυλάττειν, ὅσῳ περ οἰκειότεραι καὶ μείζους οὖσαι τῶν ἄλλων
41 τυγχάνουσιν. εἶτα λανθάνουσιν ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις στάσεις καὶ διαφορὰς αὑτοῖς ἐγκαταλείποντες. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντας μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν, ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν κατοικῶσιν· ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα σωφροσύνης ἔργα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐστίν.
42 οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔσχον οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν βασιλέων, οὐδ' ᾠήθην δεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ ταπεινοτέρας ποιήσασθαι τῶν παίδων τοὺς δ' ἐκ σεμνοτέρας, οὐδὲ τοὺς μὲν νόθους αὐτῶν τοὺς δὲ γνησίους καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀνενεγκεῖν, τῶν μὲν θνητῶν εἰς Εὐαγόραν τὸν πατέρα, τῶν δ' ἡμιθέων εἰς Αἰακίδας, τῶν δὲ θεῶν εἰς Δία, καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἀποστερηθῆναι ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας.

43 Πολλῶν δέ με προτρεπόντων ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τούτοις, οὐχ ἥκιστα κἀκεῖνο παρεκάλεσεν, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς δεινότητος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἑώρων καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς μετέχοντας, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην ἴδια κτήματα τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ὄντα. κάλλιστον οὖν ὑπέλαβον, εἴ τις

[a] Aeacus, a descendant of Zeus, was father of Telamon, the father of Teucer.

made but by their own lawless pleasures bring pain to those whom they expect never to cause *them* pain; and who, though honest in all other partnerships, are without conscience in the partnership of marriage, when they ought to cherish this relationship the more faithfully inasmuch as it is more intimate and more precious than all others. More than that, they are unconsciously storing up for themselves feuds and factions at home in the royal palace. And yet, if kings are to rule well, they must try to preserve harmony, not only in the states over which they hold dominion, but also in their own households and in their places of abode; for all these things are the works of temperance and justice. Nor was I of the same mind as most kings in regard to the begetting of children. I did not think I should have some children by a woman of humbler station and others by one of higher degree, nor that I should leave after me bastard progeny, as well as progeny of legitimate birth; but that all my children should be able to trace their lineage back through the same father and the same mother to Evagoras, my father, among mortals, to the Aeacides among the demigods, and to Zeus [a] among the gods, and that not one of the children sprung from my loins should be cheated of this noble origin.

Though many motives impelled me to abide by these principles, not the least incentive was that I saw that courage and cleverness and the other qualities which are held in high esteem are shared by many even among the base, whereas justice and temperance are the possessions of the good and noble alone. I conceived, therefore, that the noblest thing

δύναιτο ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς προέχειν τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν οὐδὲν μέρος τοῖς πονηροῖς μέτεστιν, ἀλλὰ γνησιώταται καὶ βεβαιόταται καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαί-
44 νων ἄξιαι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι. τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς περιττοτέρως τῶν ἄλλων ἤσκησα τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ προειλόμην τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐ
[36] τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς μηδεμίαν τιμὴν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς δόξαις ταῖς δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν γιγνομέναις. χρὴ δὲ δοκιμάζειν τὰς ἀρετὰς οὐκ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἰδέαις ἁπάσας, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν δικαιοσύνην ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις, τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεω-
45 τέρων ἡλικίαις. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς φανήσομαι πεῖραν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φύσεως δεδωκώς. ἐνδεὴς μέν γε χρημάτων καταλειφθεὶς οὕτω δίκαιον ἐμαυτὸν παρέσχον ὥστε μηδένα λυπῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν· λαβὼν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὥστε ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι, σωφρονέστερος τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγενόμην· τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκράτησα ταύτην ἔχων τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς πλείστους ἂν εὕροιμεν πλεῖστα περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

46 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὤκνουν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ φιλοτιμούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν πιστευθεὶς ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων· ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοί μοι μάρτυρές ἐστε πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων. ἄξιον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς φύσει κοσμίους ὄντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον
47 καὶ τοὺς μετὰ λογισμοῦ τοιούτους ὄντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τύχῃ καὶ μὴ γνώμῃ σωφρονοῦντες τυχὸν ἂν καὶ μεταπεισθεῖεν· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι καὶ

that I could do was to be able to excel my fellows in those virtues in which the bad have no share, and which are the truest and the most abiding and deserve the greatest praise. For these reasons, and with these thoughts in mind, I was more assiduous than anyone else in the practice of temperance, and I chose for my pleasures, not those which are found in acts which yield no honour, but those which are found in the good repute which rewards nobility of character. However, we ought not to test all the virtues in the same set of conditions, but should test justice when a man is in want, temperance when he is in power, continence when he is in the prime of youth. Now in all these situations no one will deny that I have given proof of my nature. When I was left by my father without means, I was so just in my dealings as to injure not one of my citizens; but when I gained the power to do whatever I pleased, I proved myself more temperate than men in private station; and I showed my self-control in both circumstances at an age in which we find that the great majority of men most frequently go morally astray.

I should probably hesitate to say all this before an audience of other people, not that I lack pride in what I have accomplished, but because I might fail to convince them on the evidence of my words alone; you, however, are yourselves my witnesses that all I have said is true. Now men who are moral by nature deserve our praise and admiration, but still more do those deserve it who are such in obedience to reason; for those who are temperate by chance and not by principle may perchance be persuaded to change, but those who,

διεγνωκότες ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρετή, δῆλον ὅτι πάντα τὸν βίον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει διαμενοῦσιν.

Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ πλείους ἐποιησάμην τοὺς λόγους καὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προειρημένων, ἵνα μηδεμίαν ὑπολίπω πρόφασιν ὡς οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἑκόντας καὶ προθύμως, ἅττ᾿ ἂν ἐγὼ συμβουλεύσω καὶ προστάξω.

48 Φημὶ δὲ χρῆναι πράττειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, ἐφ᾿ οἷς
ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπιμελῶς καὶ δικαίως· καθ᾿ ὁπότερον
γὰρ ἂν ἐλλείπητε τούτων, ἀνάγκη κακῶς σχεῖν
ταύτῃ τὰς πράξεις. μηδενὸς ὀλιγωρεῖτε μηδὲ
καταφρονεῖτε τῶν προστεταγμένων, ὑπολαμβάνον-
τες ὡς οὐ παρὰ τοῦτ᾿ ἐστίν, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς παρ᾿ ἕκαστον
49 τῶν μερῶν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς τὸ σύμπαν ἕξον,
[37] οὕτω σπουδάζετε περὶ αὐτῶν. κήδεσθε μηδὲν
ἧττον τῶν ἐμῶν ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ
νομίζετε μικρὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὰς τιμὰς ἃς ἔχουσιν
οἱ καλῶς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιστατοῦντες. ἀπ-
έχεσθε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἵν᾿ ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς
οἴκους τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν κεκτῆσθε. τοιούτους
εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἷόν περ ἐμὲ περὶ ὑμᾶς
50 ἀξιοῦτε γίγνεσθαι. μὴ σπεύδετε πλουτεῖν μᾶλλον
ἢ χρηστοὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι, γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι καὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μεγίστας ἐπ᾿
ἀρετῇ δόξας ἔχοντες πλείστων ἀγαθῶν δεσπόται
καθίστανται. τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ
δίκαιον γιγνομένους ἡγεῖσθε μὴ πλοῦτον ἀλλὰ
κίνδυνον ποιήσειν. μὴ τὸ μὲν λαβεῖν κέρδος εἶναι
νομίζετε, τὸ δ᾿ ἀναλῶσαι ζημίαν· οὐδέτερον γὰρ
τούτων ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἀλλ᾿ ὁπότερον

besides being so inclined by nature, have formed the conviction that virtue is the greatest good in the world, will, it is evident, stand firm in this position all their lives.

But the reason why I have spoken at some length both about myself and the other subjects which I have discussed is that I might leave you no excuse for not doing willingly and zealously whatever I counsel and command.

I declare it to be the duty of each one of you to perform whatever tasks you are assigned with diligence and justice ; for if you fall short in either of these qualities, your conduct must needs suffer by that defect. Do not belittle nor despise a single one of your appointed tasks, thinking that nothing depends upon it ; but, knowing that the whole depends for its success or failure on each of the parts, be careful in everything. Display no less concern in my interests than in your own, and do not think that the honours enjoyed by those who successfully administer my affairs are a small reward. Keep your hands off the possessions of others in order that you may be more secure in the possession of your own estates. You should be such in your dealings with others as you expect me to be in my dealings with you. Do not strive to gain riches rather than a good name, knowing that both among the Hellenes and the barbarians as well those who have the highest reputation for virtue have at their command the greatest number of good things. Consider that the making of money unjustly will produce, not wealth, but danger. Do not think that getting is gain or spending is loss ; for neither the one nor the other has the same significance at all times, but

ἂν ἐν καιρῷ καὶ μετ᾽ ἀρετῆς γίγνηται, τοῦτ᾽
ὠφελεῖ τοὺς ποιοῦντας.
51 Μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν χαλεπῶς ἔχετε τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
προσταττομένων· ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν ὑμῶν περὶ πλεῖστα
τῶν ἐμῶν χρησίμους αὑτοὺς παράσχωσιν, οὗτοι
πλεῖστα τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς αὑτῶν ὠφελήσουσιν.
ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος αὐτὸς αὑτῷ τύχῃ συνειδώς,
ἡγείσθω μηδ᾽ ἐμὲ λήσειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν καὶ τὸ σῶμα
μὴ παρῇ, τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ἐμὴν οἰέσθω τοῖς
γιγνομένοις παρεστάναι· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην
ἔχοντες, σωφρονέστερον βουλεύσεσθε περὶ ἁπάν-
52 των. μηδὲν ἀποκρύπτεσθε μήθ᾽ ὧν κέκτησθε
μήθ᾽ ὧν ποιεῖτε μήθ᾽ ὧν μέλλετε πράττειν, εἰδότες
ὅτι περὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγ-
καῖόν ἐστι πολλοὺς φόβους γίγνεσθαι. μὴ τεχ-
νικῶς ζητεῖτε πολιτεύεσθαι μηδ᾽ ἀφανῶς, ἀλλ᾽
οὕτως ἁπλῶς καὶ φανερῶς ὥστε μηδ᾽ ἄν τις
βούληται ῥᾴδιον ὑμᾶς εἶναι διαβαλεῖν. δοκι-
μάζετε τὰς πράξεις, καὶ νομίζετε πονηρὰς μὲν ἃς
πράττοντες λανθάνειν ἐμὲ βούλεσθε, χρηστὰς δὲ
περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ μέλλω πυθόμενος βελτίους ὑμᾶς
53 νομιεῖν. μὴ κατασιωπᾶτε, ἄν τινας ὁρᾶτε περὶ
τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πονηροὺς ὄντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξελέγ-
χετε, καὶ νομίζετε τῆς αὐτῆς ζημίας ἀξίους εἶναι
[38] τοὺς συγκρύπτοντας τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν. εὐτυχεῖν
νομίζετε μὴ τοὺς λανθάνοντας, ἐάν τι κακὸν
ποιήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας·
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰκὸς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷά περ αὐτοὶ
ποιοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ χάριν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἧς ἄξιοι τυγ-
54 χάνουσιν ὄντες. ἑταιρείας μὴ ποιεῖσθε μηδὲ

either, when done in season and with honour, benefits the doer.

And do not regard any one of my orders as a hardship; for those of you who make themselves most serviceable to my interests will most advance the interests of their own households. Let none of you imagine that even what he secretly thinks in his own heart will be hidden from me; nay, let him believe that, though I may be absent in body, yet my thoughts are present at what goes on; for, being of this opinion, you will be more restrained in your deliberations on all matters. Never conceal from me anything that you possess, or that you are doing, or that you intend to do, knowing that where there are things hidden, fears in great number must needs arise. Seek not to be artful nor underhand in your public life, but to be so honest and open that, even if anyone wants to slander you, it will not be easy to do so. Scrutinize your actions and believe that they are evil when you wish to hide from me what you do, and good when my knowledge of them will be likely to make me think better of you. Do not keep silent if you see any who are disloyal to my rule, but expose them; and believe that those who aid in concealing crime deserve the same punishment as those who commit it. Consider fortunate, not those who escape detection when they do evil, but those who are innocent of all wrongdoing; for it is probable that the former will suffer such ills as they themselves inflict, while the latter will receive the reward which they deserve. Do not form political

συνόδους ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης· αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται συστάσεις ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις κινδυνεύουσιν. μὴ μόνον ἀπέχεσθε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν τοιούτων ἐν οἷς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὑποψίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. τὴν ἐμὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ βεβαιοτάτην εἶναι νομίζετε.
55 διαφυλάττετε τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεταβολῆς, εἰδότες ὅτι διὰ τὰς ταραχὰς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναστάτους γίγνεσθαι. μὴ μόνον τὰς φύσεις αἰτίας νομίζετε τοῦ χαλεποὺς ἢ πράους εἶναι τοὺς τυράννους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν τῶν πολιτῶν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων κακίαν τραχύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν γνώμην ἄρχειν ἠναγ-
56 κάσθησαν. θαρρεῖτε μὴ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν πραότητα τὴν ἐμὴν ἢ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετήν. τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἄδειαν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομίζετε· καλῶς γὰρ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ καθεστώτων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἕξει. ταπεινοὺς μὲν εἶναι χρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν, ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ διαφυλάττοντας τοὺς νόμους τοὺς βασιλικούς, λαμπροὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λειτουργίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσταττομένοις.

57 Προτρέπετε τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν μὴ μόνον παραινοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ὑποδεικνύοντες αὐτοῖς οἵους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀγαθούς. διδάσκετε τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν πειθαρχεῖν,[1] καὶ περὶ τὴν παίδευσιν

[1] πειθαρχεῖν Γ : βασιλεύεσθαι vulg.

societies or unions [a] without my sanction; for such associations may be an advantage in the other forms of government, but in monarchies they are a danger. Abstain not merely from wrongdoing, but also from such conduct as must needs arouse suspicion. Believe that my friendship is very sure and abiding. Preserve the present order and do not desire any change, knowing that revolutions inevitably destroy states and lay waste the homes of the people. Do not think that it is their natural dispositions alone which make rulers harsh or gentle, but the character of the citizens as well; for many before now have been compelled by the depravity of their subjects to rule more harshly than they wished. Be confident, but less because of my mildness than because of your own goodness. Consider that in my safety lies your own security; for while my fortunes are on a firm foundation, your own will be likewise. You should be self-effacing in your attitude toward my authority, abiding by our customs and preserving the royal laws, but conspicuous in your services on behalf of the state and in the other duties which are assigned to you by my command.

Exhort the young to virtue not only by your precepts but by exemplifying in your conduct what good men ought to be. Teach your children to be obedient, and habituate them to devote themselves

[a] Political clubs may have been patriotic in old Athens (*Paneg.* 79) but they had now degenerated into secret associations conspiring against popular government. See *Paneg.* 167; Thuc. viii. 54; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxxiv.

τὴν εἰρημένην[1] ἐθίζετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὡς μάλιστα διατρίβειν· ἣν γὰρ καλῶς ἄρχεσθαι μάθωσι, πολλῶν ἄρχειν δυνήσονται, καὶ πιστοὶ μὲν ὄντες καὶ δίκαιοι μεθέξουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, κακοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι κινδυνεύσουσι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-
58 των. μέγιστον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ βεβαιότατον τοῖς
[39] παισὶ πλοῦτον παραδώσειν, ἢν αὐτοῖς δύνησθε τὴν ἡμετέραν εὔνοιαν καταλείπειν. ἀθλιωτάτους ἡγεῖσθε καὶ δυστυχεστάτους, ὅσοι περὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἄπιστοι γεγόνασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ φοβουμένους ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν μᾶλλον πιστεύοντας τοῖς φίλοις ἢ τοῖς
59 ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον διάγειν. ζηλοῦτε μὴ τοὺς πλεῖστα κεκτημένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότας· μετὰ γὰρ τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἥδιστ᾽ ἄν τις δύναιτο τὸν βίον διαγαγεῖν. μὴ τὴν κακίαν οἴεσθε δύνασθαι μὲν πλείω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὠφελεῖν, τὸ δ᾽ ὄνομα δυσχερέστερον ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ οἵων περ ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον τῶν πραγμάτων τετύχηκε, τοιαύτας ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν εἶναι.

60 Μὴ φθονεῖτε τοῖς παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρωτεύουσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἁμιλλᾶσθε, καὶ πειρᾶσθε χρηστοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντες ἐξισοῦσθαι τοῖς προέχουσιν. φιλεῖν οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν οὕσπερ ἂν καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα καὶ παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ τυγχάνητε τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων. οἷά περ παρόντος μου λέγετε, τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ
61 ἀπόντος φρονεῖτε. τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιεῖτε. περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις

[1] τὴν εἰρημένην Γ: τὴν τοιαύτην vulg.

above all to the discipline which I have described; for if they learn to submit to authority they will be able to exercise authority over many; and if they are faithful and just they will be given a share in my privileges; but if they turn out to be bad they will be in danger of losing all the privileges which they possess. Consider that you will pass on to your children the greatest and surest wealth if you can leave them my good will. Consider that the most miserable and unfortunate of men are those who have proved faithless to those who put their faith in them; for such men are doomed to despair and to fear of everything and to distrust of friends no less than of foes throughout the remainder of their lives. Emulate, not those who have most possessions, but those who in their hearts know no evil; for with such a conscience one can live out his life most happily. Do not imagine that vice can profit more than virtue, and that it is only its name which is uglier; but consider that even as are the names which things have received, so, also, are their qualities.[a]

Do not be jealous of those who are highest in my favour, but emulate them, and by making yourselves serviceable try to rise to the level of those who are above you. Believe that you should love and honour those whom your king loves and honours, in order that you may win from me these same distinctions. Even as are the words which you speak about me in my presence, so let your thoughts of me be in my absence. Manifest your good will towards me in deeds rather than in words. Do not do to others that which angers you when they do it to you.[b]

[a] *Cf. Phil.* 16 ff.
[b] See *To Demonicus* 14 and note.

κατηγορῆτε, μηδὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτηδεύετε. τοιαῦτα προσδοκᾶτε πράξειν, οἷ' ἂν περὶ ἡμῶν διανοῆσθε. μὴ μόνον ἐπαινεῖτε τοὺς ἀγα-
62 θοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμεῖσθε. τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἐμοὺς νόμους εἶναι νομίζοντες πειρᾶσθε τούτοις ἐμμένειν, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς μάλιστα ποιοῦσιν ὑμῶν ἁγὼ βούλομαι, τάχιστα τούτοις ἐξέσται ζῆν ὡς αὐτοὶ βούλονται. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων· οἵους περ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀρχομένους οἴεσθε δεῖν περὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι, τοιούτους χρὴ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑμᾶς γίγνεσθαι.

63 Καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ποιῆτε, τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν συμβησομένων μακρολογεῖν; ἢν γὰρ ἐγώ τε παρέχω τοιοῦτον ἐμαυτὸν οἷόν περ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι
[40] χρόνῳ, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπηρετῆται, ταχέως ὄψεσθε καὶ τὸν βίον τὸν ὑμέτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ηὐξημένην καὶ
64 τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα γεγενημένην. ἄξιον μὲν οὖν τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους οὐστινασοῦν ὑπενεγκεῖν· ὑμῖν δ' ἔξεστι μηδὲν ταλαιπωρηθεῖσιν, ἀλλὰ πιστοῖς μόνον καὶ δικαίοις οὖσιν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα διαπράξασθαι.

Practise nothing in your deeds for which you condemn others in your words. Expect to fare well or ill according as you are disposed well or ill toward me. Be not satisfied with praising good men, but imitate them as well. Regard my words as your law, and try to abide by them, knowing that those of you who most faithfully do what I desire will most quickly be able to live as they themselves desire. This is the conclusion of the whole matter: just as you think those who are ruled by you should conduct themselves toward you, so you also should conduct yourselves toward my rule.

And if you do this, why need I speak at length of what the results will be? For if I continue to treat you as in time past, and you continue to give me your service and support, you will soon see your own life advanced, my empire increased, and the state made happy and prosperous. You could, therefore, well afford, for the sake of blessings so great, to spare no effort and even to undergo all manner of toil and peril; and yet it lies in your power, without suffering any hardship, but merely by being loyal and true, to bring all these things to pass.

IV. PANEGYRICUS

INTRODUCTION

The *Panegyricus* was published at a time [a] when the power and influence of Athens were at a low ebb and when the Hellenic world generally was in a sorry state. The empire which Athens had built upon her acknowledged leadership in driving the Persians out of Greece had been shattered by the Peloponnesian War. The supremacy to which Sparta succeeded at the end of that war [b] soon proved a selfish tyranny which so stirred up hatred among the Greek cities and factions within them as to destroy whatever of pan-Hellenic sentiment had been engendered by the Persian Wars and to invite the barbarian to interfere in the affairs of Hellas.

The crowning shame of this condition of affairs was the so-called Peace of Antalcidas (negotiated in 387 B.C., mainly by Sparta), under the terms of which the Greeks submitted themselves formally, for the first time in history, to the overlordship of the Persian king, accepting him as the arbiter of their disputes and as the guardian of the " autonomy " of the Greek states in their relations to each other.

But this sacrifice of their pride gained for the Hellenes neither the " autonomy " nor the " peace " which the treaty guaranteed.[c] Sparta continued to

[a] About 380 B.C. See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 148.

[b] By the Battle of Aegospotami, 405 B.C.

[c] See *Paneg.* 115.

wage war on Greek states [a] and to stir up faction and bloodshed within them.[b] The Athenian fleet no longer patrolled the sea, and pirates infested the Aegean.[c] The several states, exhausted by war and civil strife, were unable to support their populations, and men sought to escape from poverty and want at home by enlisting in foreign service under any leader who could hold out to them a prospect of pay or pillage. These bands of mercenaries, growing in numbers and in recklessness, became a positive menace to the security of the home-staying population.[d]

It is from these intolerable circumstances that Isocrates in the *Panegyricus* seeks to persuade the Greeks to deliver themselves. They cannot, he insists, go on with their suicidal wars; the strife which is sapping their very life must be brought to an end. There is, however, but one way to establish concord among the several states and that is to enlist their mutual rivalries in a common cause—to carry the war from Hellas into Asia and to wrest from the barbarians the power and wealth which the Hellenes now seek to gain from each other. Concord among the Greeks, war upon the barbarians—the complete triumph of Hellenism by a final and thorough-going conquest of Persia—is the central theme of the discourse.

But there is the difficult question of leadership in this crusade. Sparta, now the leading state, has abused her power and involved Greece in her present weakness and humiliation. She must suffer a change of heart and join with Athens in the war of deliver-

[a] 126. [b] 110-114. [c] 115.
[d] See *Paneg.* 115, 168; *Phil.* 96, 120, 121; *Epist.* ix. 9.

ance. But Athens must regain her lost supremacy ;[a] she alone, by her past history, has proved not only her right but her capacity to unite the Greeks in a common cause. The author sketches with sincere eloquence the glorious services of Athens to Hellas—Athens, the mother of civilization ; author of material prosperity no less than of the institutions and the arts of the cultivated life ; beneficent in the exercise of the supremacy which of old was conceded to her, using her power, not to enslave, but to help the weaker states ; risking her very existence in the Persian Wars for the freedom of all the Hellenes ; and always without fail the champion of Hellenism against the menace of the Persian empire—and rests on this record her claim to take the lead in this great enterprise.

Isocrates insists that the enterprise is entirely practicable. The Persians are an effeminate people with no genius or strength for war. They have prospered only by the help of the Greeks or by playing one Greek power against another ; they have never succeeded and can never stand against a united Hellas. If only the Greeks can be persuaded to make common cause against them, their advance upon the barbarians " will be more like a sacred mission than a military expedition."

The *Panegyricus* is the first of the " political "[b]

[a] Isocrates, in tactful recognition of the present position of Sparta, speaks in one or two passages of the *Panegyricus* as if he had in mind a dual leadership ; but the discourse as a whole (see especially 99) is both a challenge to Athens to lead in the expedition (compare *Phil.* 127) and to the rest of the Greeks to accept her leadership. Moreover in the *Antidosis*, 57, 58, Isocrates expressly states that this was the purpose of the *Panegyricus*.

[b] See General Introd. p. xxxi.

discourses of Isocrates, and the first and foremost in which he devotes his eloquence to his dream of pan-Hellenism.[a] It betrays the great pains taken in its composition by the extreme finish of its style and the careful elaborateness of its structure; but throughout its involved rhetorical periods there breathes a genuine feeling and a lofty tone. It established his fame in antiquity, and was recognized then as now as his masterpiece.[b]

The title was chosen by Isocrates himself,[c] no doubt to signify its appropriateness to be delivered before a pan-Hellenic gathering at Olympia, where Gorgias and Lysias had actually spoken on the same theme before him.[d] It is, however, certain that it was not delivered by Isocrates;[e] and, although it may have been read aloud on such an occasion by another, it was probably written as a political pamphlet and circulated among a reading public.

[a] See General Introd. pp. ix, x.

[b] Compare the enthusiastic judgements pronounced upon it by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Critique on Isocrates* 5, 14, and by Havet in his introduction to Cartelier's *Antidosis*, p. lviii.

[c] *Phil.* 9; General Introd. p. xxxvi.

[d] General Introd. p. xxxv.

[e] General Introd. pp. xviii, xxx.

ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ

[41] Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συναγαγόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων, ὅτι τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων εὐτυχίας οὕτω μεγάλων δωρεῶν ἠξίωσαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἰδίᾳ πονήσασι καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευάσασιν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὠφελεῖν δύνασθαι,
2 τούτοις δ' οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν· ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ποιήσασθαι πρόνοιαν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητῶν δὶς τοσαύτην ῥώμην λαβόντων οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον γένοιτο τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἑνὸς δὲ ἀνδρὸς εὖ φρονήσαντος ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπολαύσειαν οἱ βουλόμενοι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίας.
3 Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμήσας εἱλόμην ῥᾳθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν νομίσας ἆθλον ἔσεσθαί μοι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενησομένην ἥκω συμβουλεύσων περί τε τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τῆς ὁμονοίας τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν προσποιησαμένων εἶναι

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[a] Pan-Hellenic gatherings at the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian games, including also the Panathenaic festival at Athens. See Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, pp. 269 ff.

[b] This is not quite exact (see Lysias, *Olympiacus* 2), nor consistent with § 45 where he mentions contests of intellect

IV. PANEGYRICUS

Many times have I wondered at those who first convoked the national assemblies and established the athletic games,[a] amazed that they should have thought the prowess of men's bodies to be deserving of so great bounties, while to those who had toiled in private for the public good and trained their own minds so as to be able to help also their fellow-men they apportioned no reward whatsoever,[b] when, in all reason, they ought rather to have made provision for the latter; for if all the athletes should acquire twice the strength which they now possess, the rest of the world would be no better off; but let a single man attain to wisdom, and all men will reap the benefit who are willing to share his insight.

Yet I have not on this account lost heart nor chosen to abate my labours; on the contrary, believing that I shall have a sufficient reward in the approbation which my discourse will itself command, I have come before you to give my counsels on the war against the barbarians and on concord among ourselves. I am, in truth, not unaware that many of

and prizes for them. But the mild interest which these evoked served but to emphasize the excess of enthusiasm for athletics against which Isocrates here and elsewhere protests. *Cf. Antid.* 250 and *Epist.* viii. 5. The complaint is older than Isocrates. See Xenophanes, Fr. 19.

[42] 4 σοφιστῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὥρμησαν, ἀλλ᾿ ἅμα
μὲν ἐλπίζων τοσοῦτον διοίσειν ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις
μηδὲν πώποτε δοκεῖν εἰρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἅμα
δὲ προκρίνας τούτους καλλίστους εἶναι τῶν λόγων,
οἵτινες περὶ μεγίστων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες καὶ τούς
τε λέγοντας μάλιστ᾿ ἐπιδεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀκού-
5 οντας πλεῖστ᾿ ὠφελοῦσιν, ὧν εἷς οὗτός ἐστιν. ἔπειτ᾿
οὐδ᾿ οἱ καιροί πω παρεληλύθασιν, ὥστ᾿ ἤδη μάτην
εἶναι τὸ μεμνῆσθαι περὶ τούτων. τότε γὰρ χρὴ
παύεσθαι λέγοντας, ὅταν ἢ τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ
τέλος καὶ μηκέτι δέῃ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ
τὸν λόγον ἴδῃ τις ἔχοντα πέρας, ὥστε μηδεμίαν
6 λελεῖφθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερβολήν. ἕως δ᾿ ἂν τὰ μὲν
ὁμοίως ὥσπερ πρότερον φέρηται, τὰ δ᾿ εἰρημένα
φαύλως ἔχοντα τυγχάνῃ, πῶς οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν καὶ
φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὃς ἢν κατορθωθῇ, καὶ
τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς
παρούσης καὶ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξει;
7 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἷόντ᾿
ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ᾿ ἢ διὰ μιᾶς ἰδέας,
εἶχεν ἄν τις ὑπολαβεῖν ὡς περίεργόν ἐστι τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς
ἀκούουσιν· ἐπειδὴ δ᾿ οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι
8 τὴν φύσιν, ὥσθ᾿ οἷόντ᾿ εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολ-
λαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι, καὶ τά τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ
ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς μέγεθος περιθεῖναι, καὶ

[a] For the meaning of the word "sophist" see General Introd. p. xii. The word is commonly translated "orator," since the sophists concerned themselves mainly with exemplifying and teaching oratory; but the sophist speaks only on the lecture platform; the political orator is called a "rhetor" in Isocrates.

Gorgias and Lysias in their Olympic orations had spoken

those who have claimed to be sophists [a] have rushed upon this theme, but I hope to rise so far superior to them that it will seem as if no word had ever been spoken by my rivals upon this subject; and, at the same time, I have singled out as the highest kind of oratory [b] that which deals with the greatest affairs and, while best displaying the ability of those who speak, brings most profit to those who hear; and this oration is of that character. In the next place, the moment for action has not yet gone by, and so made it now futile to bring up this question; for then, and only then, should we cease to speak, when the conditions have come to an end and there is no longer any need to deliberate about them, or when we see that the discussion of them is so complete that there is left to others no room to improve upon what has been said. But so long as conditions go on as before, and what has been said about them is inadequate, is it not our duty to scan and study this question, the right decision of which will deliver us from our mutual warfare, our present confusion, and our greatest ills?

Furthermore, if it were possible to present the same subject matter in one form and in no other, one might have reason to think it gratuitous to weary one's hearers by speaking again in the same manner as his predecessors; but since oratory is of such a nature that it is possible to discourse on the same subject matter in many different ways—to represent the great as lowly or invest the little with grandeur,

on this theme, but it is hardly probable that Isocrates had them particularly in mind in this patronizing remark.

[b] *Cf.* Lysias, *Olymp.* 3. For Isocrates' idea of the highest oratory see General Introd. p. xxiv.

τά τε παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι φευκτέον ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρήκασιν,
9 ἀλλ᾽ ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοιναὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατελείφθησαν, τὸ δ᾽ ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ ἑκάστης ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων
10 ἴδιόν ἐστιν. ἡγοῦμαι δ᾽ οὕτως ἂν μεγίστην ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλοσοφίαν, εἴ τις θαυμάζοι καὶ τιμῴη μὴ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἔργων ἀρχομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄρισθ᾽ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξεργαζομένους, μηδὲ τοὺς
[43] περὶ τούτων ζητοῦντας λέγειν περὶ ὧν μηδεὶς πρότερον εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οὕτως ἐπισταμένους εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος δύναιτο.

11 Καίτοι τινὲς ἐπιτιμῶσι τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀπηκριβωμένοις, καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτήκασιν ὥστε τοὺς πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν πεποιημένους πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων σκοποῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁμοίως δέον ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀσφαλῶς τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ἢ σφᾶς μὲν διορῶντας τὰς

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[a] The author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, xxxviii, quotes this passage and condemns Isocrates' "puerility" in thus dwelling on the power of rhetoric when leading up to his praise of Athens, and so arousing distrust of his sincerity. But the objection loses its force if Isocrates is here using what had become a conventionalized statement of the power of oratory. This it probably was. [Plutarch], *Lives of the Orators* 838 F, attributes to Isocrates the definition of rhetoric as the means of making "small things great and great things small." A similar view is attributed to the rhetoricians Tisias and Gorgias in Plato, *Phaedr.* 267 A, who

to recount the things of old in a new manner or set forth events of recent date in an old fashion [a]—it follows that one must not shun the subjects upon which others have spoken before, but must try to speak better than they. For the deeds of the past are, indeed, an inheritance common to us all; but the ability to make proper use of them at the appropriate time, to conceive the right sentiments about them in each instance, and to set them forth in finished phrase, is the peculiar gift of the wise. And it is my opinion that the study [b] of oratory as well as the other arts would make the greatest advance if we should admire and honour, not those who make the first beginnings in their crafts, but those who are the most finished craftsmen in each, and not those who seek to speak on subjects on which no one has spoken before, but those who know how to speak as no one else could.

Yet there are some who carp at discourses which are beyond the powers of ordinary men and have been elaborated with extreme care, and who have gone so far astray that they judge the most ambitious oratory by the standard of the pleas made in the petty actions of the courts; [c] as if both kinds should be alike and should not be distinguished, the one by plainness of style, the other by display; or as if

are credited with "making small things appear great and great things small, and with presenting new things in an old way and old themes in a modern fashion through the power of speech." *Cf. Busiris* 4 and *Panath.* 36; also Julian, Oration, i. 2 c.

[b] Literally the "philosophy which has to do with oratory"—culture expressed in speech. For "philosophy" as used by Isocrates see General Introd. p. xxvi.

[c] For Isocrates' opinion of court oratory see General Introd. p. xxii.

μετριότητας, τὸν δ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον λέγειν
12 ἁπλῶς οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐ λελήθασιν ὅτι τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν ὧν ἐγγὺς αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐστί, τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀποδεξομένους τῶν εἰκῇ λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ δυσχερανοῦντας καὶ ζητήσοντας ἰδεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, οἷον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ εὑρήσουσιν. πρὸς οὓς ἔτι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ θρασυνάμενος, ἤδη περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους.
13 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις ὁρῶ καταπραΰνοντας τοὺς ἀκροατάς, καὶ προφασιζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, καὶ λέγοντας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἐξ ὑπογυίου γέγονεν αὐτοῖς ἡ παρασκευή, τοὺς δ' ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἴσους τοὺς λόγους
14 τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν. ἐγὼ δ' ἢν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως εἴπω καὶ τῆς δόξης τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, μὴ μόνον τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπαντος οὗ βεβίωκα, παρακελεύομαι μηδεμίαν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταγελᾶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅ τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι πάσχειν, εἴπερ μηδὲν διαφέρων οὕτω μεγάλας ποιοῦμαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἰδίων ταῦτά μοι προειρήσθω.
15 περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσοι μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντες διδάσκουσιν ὡς χρὴ διαλυσαμένους τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς

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[a] This is done by [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 1, by Hypereides, *Epitaph* 2, and by Isocrates himself, *Panath.* 36-38.

[b] See General Introd. p. xxx.

[c] This self-confidence is something more than Isocratean

they themselves saw clearly the happy mean, while the man who knows how to speak elegantly could not speak simply and plainly if he chose. Now these people deceive no one; clearly they praise those who are near their own level. I, for my part, am not concerned with such men, but rather with those who will not tolerate, but will resent, any carelessness of phrase, and will seek to find in my speeches a quality which they will not discover in others. Addressing myself to these, I shall proceed with my theme, after first vaunting a little further my own powers. For I observe that the other orators in their introductions seek to conciliate their hearers and make excuses for the speeches which they are about to deliver,[a] sometimes alleging that their preparation has been on the spur of the moment, sometimes urging that it is difficult to find words to match the greatness of their theme. But as for myself, if I do not speak in a manner worthy of my subject and of my reputation and of the time which I have spent [b] —not merely the hours which have been devoted to my speech but also all the years which I have lived—I bid you show me no indulgence but hold me up to ridicule and scorn; for there is nothing of the sort which I do not deserve to suffer, if indeed, being no better than the others, I make promises so great.[c]

So much, by way of introduction, as to my personal claims. But as to our public interests, the speakers who no sooner come before us than they inform us that we must compose our enmities against each

vanity. It is a conscious device to enhance the greatness of his theme. At the beginning he is exalted by its magnitude; at the end, 187, he is cast down by his failure to measure up to it. See Havet's interesting remarks in Cartelier's *Antidosis*, p. lxv.

αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον τραπέσθαι, καὶ διεξέρχονται τάς τε συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένας καὶ τὰς ὠφελείας τὰς ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσομέ-
[44] νας, ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ποιοῦνται τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅθεν ἂν μάλιστα συστῆσαι ταῦτα δυνη-
16 θεῖεν. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οἱ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν· αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις, οὕτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διειλήφασιν. ὅστις οὖν οἴεται τοὺς ἄλλους κοινῇ τι πράξειν ἀγαθόν, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν διαλλάξῃ, λίαν ἁπλῶς ἔχει καὶ πόρρω τῶν πραγ-
17 μάτων ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν μὴ μόνον ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ διαπράξασθαί τι βουλόμενον ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν, οἵτινες τὼ πόλη τούτω πείσουσιν ἰσομοιρῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τάς θ' ἡγεμονίας διελέσθαι καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας ἃς νῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὑταῖς γίγνεσθαι, ταύτας παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι.

18 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ῥᾴδιον ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγαγεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ νῦν μὲν ἔτι δυσπείστως ἔχουσι· παρειλήφασι γὰρ ψευδῆ λόγον, ὡς ἔστιν αὑτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι πάτριον· ἢν δ' ἐπιδείξῃ τις αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἡμετέραν οὖσαν μᾶλλον ἢ 'κείνων, τάχ' ἂν ἐάσαντες τὸ διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἔλθοιεν.

19 Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων

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[a] Artaxerxes II., king of Persia, 404–359 B.C.

[b] The Greek states which were under the influence of Athens were democratic; those under Sparta's influence, oligarchic.

other and turn against the barbarian,[a] rehearsing the misfortunes which have come upon us from our mutual warfare and the advantages which will result from a campaign against our natural enemy—these men do speak the truth, but they do not start at the point from which they could best bring these things to pass. For the Hellenes are subject, some to us, others to the Lacedaemonians, the polities [b] by which they govern their states having thus divided most of them. If any man, therefore, thinks that before he brings the leading states into friendly relations, the rest will unite in doing any good thing, he is all too simple and out of touch with the actual conditions. No, the man who does not aim merely to make an oratorical display, but desires to accomplish something as well, must seek out such arguments as will persuade these two states to share and share alike with each other, to divide the supremacy between them, and to wrest from the barbarians the advantages which at the present time they desire to seize for themselves at the expense of the Hellenes.[c]

Now our own city could easily be induced to adopt this policy, but at present the Lacedaemonians are still hard to persuade; for they have inherited the false doctrine that leadership is theirs by ancestral right. If, however, one should prove to them that this honour belongs to us rather than to them, perhaps they might give up splitting hairs about this question and pursue their true interests.

So, then, the other speakers also should have made this their starting-point and should not have given advice on matters about which we agree before

[c] Almost the same language is used in *Phil.* 9.

συμβουλεύειν, πρὶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων
ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν· ἐμοὶ δ᾽ οὖν ἀμφοτέρων ἕνεκα
προσήκει περὶ ταῦτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πλείστην
διατριβήν, μάλιστα μὲν ἵνα προὔργου τι γένηται
καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλονικίας
20 κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽
ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἵνα δηλώσω τοὺς ἐμποδὼν ὄντας
τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσι γένηται
φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν δικαίως
τῆς θαλάττης ἦρξε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀμφισβητεῖ
τῆς ἡγεμονίας.

21 Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ δεῖ τούτους ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ τιμᾶ-
σθαι τῶν ἔργων, τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ὄντας καὶ
μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡμῖν
προσήκει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἥν περ πρό-
τερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἑτέραν
πόλιν ἐπιδείξειε τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ
[45] γῆν ὑπερέχουσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τοῖς κιν-
22 δύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσαν. τοῦτο δ᾽
εἴ τινες ταύτην μὲν μὴ νομίζουσι δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν
κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς γίγνεσθαι
(τὰς γὰρ δυναστείας οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς παρα-
μένειν), ἀξιοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο
τι γέρας ἢ τοὺς πρώτους τυχόντας ταύτης τῆς
τιμῆς ἢ τοὺς πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἕλ-
λησιν ὄντας, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τούτους εἶναι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν·
23 ὅσῳ γὰρ ἄν τις πορρωτέρωθεν σκοπῇ περὶ τούτων
ἀμφοτέρων, τοσούτῳ πλέον ἀπολείψομεν τοὺς
ἀμφισβητοῦντας. ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν

instructing us on the points about which we disagree. I, at all events, am justified by a twofold motive in devoting most of my attention to these points: first and foremost, in order that some good may come of it, and that we may put an end to our mutual rivalries and unite in a war against the barbarian; and, secondly, if this is impossible, in order that I may show who they are that stand in the way of the happiness of the Hellenes, and that all may be made to see that even as in times past Athens justly held the sovereignty of the sea, so now she not unjustly lays claim to the hegemony.[a]

For in the first place, if it is the most experienced and the most capable who in any field of action deserve to be honoured, it is without question our right to recover the hegemony which we formerly possessed; for no one can point to another state which so far excels in warfare on land as our city is superior in fighting battles on the sea. But, in the next place, if there are any who do not regard this as a fair basis of judgement, since the reversals of fortune are frequent (for sovereignty never remains in the same hands), and who believe that the hegemony, like any other prize, should be held by those who first won this honour, or else by those who have rendered the most service to the Hellenes, I think that these also are on our side; for the farther back into the past we go in our examination of both these titles to leadership, the farther behind shall we leave those who dispute our claims. For it is admitted that our

[a] This claim was made good two years later when the new naval confederacy was formed. See General Introd. p. xxxvii. The Greek word "hegemony"—leadership, supremacy—is often used in the particular sense of acknowledged headship of confederated states, as here.

ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτάτην εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ
πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστοτάτην· οὕτω δὲ καλῆς
τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὔσης, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχομένοις τούτων
24 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς προσήκει τιμᾶσθαι. ταύτην γὰρ
οἰκοῦμεν οὐχ ἑτέρους ἐκβαλόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην
καταλαβόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μιγάδες
συλλεγέντες, ἀλλ' οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόνα-
μεν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυμεν, ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα
τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες καὶ τῶν
ὀνομάτων τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἷσπερ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους,
25 τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν· μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα
καλέσαι προσήκει. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα
φρονοῦντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δικαίως ἀμφι-
σβητοῦντας καὶ τῶν πατρίων πολλάκις μεμνημένους
τοιαύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι.
26 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξαντα καὶ παρὰ τῆς
τύχης δωρηθέντα τηλικαῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν·
ὅσων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γενόναμεν,
οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστ' ἐξετάσαιμεν, εἰ τόν τε χρόνον
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐφεξῆς
διέλθοιμεν· εὑρήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τῶν
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
27 κατασκευῆς, ἐν ᾗ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολι-
τευόμεθα καὶ δι' ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα, σχεδὸν ἁπάσης
αἰτίαν οὖσαν. ἀνάγκη δὲ προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν εὐ-

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[a] See *Panath.* 124 and Herod. vii. 161.

[b] The same boast is made in *Helen* 35 and *Antid.* 299.

[c] In contrast particularly to the ancestors of the Spartans when they established themselves in the Peloponnesus.

[d] The "autochthony" of the Athenians was a common theme of Athenian orators and poets: *Peace* 49, *Panath.* 124-125; Thuc. i. 2. 5; Eurip. *Ion* 589 ff.; Aristoph. *Wasps* 1076.

city is the oldest [a] and the greatest [b] in the world and in the eyes of all men the most renowned. But noble as is the foundation of our claims, the following grounds give us even a clearer title to distinction: for we did not become dwellers in this land by driving others out of it,[c] nor by finding it uninhabited, nor by coming together here a motley horde composed of many races; but we are of a lineage so noble and so pure that throughout our history we have continued in possession of the very land which gave us birth, since we are sprung from its very soil [d] and are able to address our city by the very names which we apply to our nearest kin; for we alone of all the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother. And yet, if men are to have good ground for pride and make just claims to leadership and frequently recall their ancestral glories, they must show that their race boasts an origin as noble as that which I have described.[e]

So great, then, are the gifts which were ours from the beginning and which fortune has bestowed upon us. But how many good things we have contributed to the rest of the world we could estimate to best advantage if we should recount the history of our city from the beginning and go through all her achievements in detail; for we should find that not only was she the leader in the hazards of war, but that the social order in general in which we dwell, with which we share the rights of citizenship and through which we are able to live, is almost wholly due to her. It is, however, necessary to single out from the number of her benefactions, not those which because of their

[e] A challenge to Spartan pride and pretensions.

εργεσιῶν μὴ τὰς διὰ μικρότητα διαλαθούσας καὶ
[46] κατασιωπηθείσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὑπὸ
πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ πανταχοῦ
καὶ λεγομένας καὶ μνημονευομένας.

28 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, οὗ πρῶτον ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν
ἐδεήθη, διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπορίσθη·
καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὅμως αὐτῷ
καὶ νῦν ῥηθῆναι προσήκει. Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφ-
ικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης
ἁρπασθείσης, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐ-
μενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς οὐχ οἷόντ'
ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης
δωρεὰς διττὰς αἵπερ μέγισται τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι,
τούς τε καρπούς, οἳ τοῦ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς
αἴτιοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὴν τελετήν, ἧς οἱ μετασχόν-
τες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμ-
29 παντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν, οὕτως
ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλ-
ανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοσούτων
ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὧν ἔλαβεν
ἅπασι μετέδωκεν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν καθ'
ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δείκνυμεν, τῶν δὲ συλλήβδην
τάς τε χρείας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας τὰς
30 ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας ἐδίδαξεν. καὶ τούτοις ἀπιστεῖν
μικρῶν ἔτι προστεθέντων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀξιώσειεν.

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[a] For the story of Demeter and Persephone (here called Korê, "the maiden") see the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*; Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 393-620, and *Metamorphoses* v. 385 ff.; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, and Walter Pater, "Demeter and Persephone" in his *Greek Studies*.

[b] *Cf.* Plato, *Menex.* 237 E; Lucret. vi. 1 ff.

[c] For the Eleusinian Mysteries see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, vol. i.; Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiqui-*

slight importance have escaped attention and been passed over in silence, but those which because of their great importance have been and still are on the lips and in the memory of all men everywhere.

Now, first of all, that which was the first necessity of man's nature was provided by our city; for even though the story [a] has taken the form of a myth, yet it deserves to be told again. When Demeter came to our land, in her wandering after the rape of Korê, and, being moved to kindness towards our ancestors by services which may not be told save to her initiates, gave these two gifts, the greatest in the world—the fruits of the earth,[b] which have enabled us to rise above the life of the beasts, and the holy rite [c] which inspires in those who partake of it sweeter hopes [d] regarding both the end of life and all eternity, —our city was not only so beloved of the gods but also so devoted to mankind that, having been endowed with these great blessings, she did not begrudge them to the rest of the world, but shared with all men what she had received.[e] The mystic rite we continue even now, each year,[f] to reveal to the initiates; and as for the fruits of the earth, our city has, in a word, instructed the world in their uses, their cultivation, and the benefits derived from them. This statement, when I have added a few further proofs, no one could venture to discredit.

ties, pp. 274 ff.; Gardner's *New Chapters in Greek History*, xiii; Diehl, *Excursions in Greece* viii.

[d] Quoted in *Peace* 34. For the blessedness of the Mystics see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 480 ff.; Pindar, Fr. 102; Sophocles, Fr. 753 Nauck.

[e] So Plato, *Menex.* 238 A. *Cf.* Cicero, *Flaccus* 62, "adsunt Athenienses unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, iura, leges ortae atque in omnes terras distributae putantur."

[f] In the month Boëdromion (August).

Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ἐξ ὧν ἄν τις καταφρονήσειε τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τὰς πράξεις γεγενῆσθαι νομίσειεν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς εἰρηκέναι καὶ πάντας ἀκηκοέναι προσήκει μὴ καινὰ μὲν πιστὰ δὲ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν. ἔπειτ' οὐ μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταφυγεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σημείοις μείζοσιν ἢ τούτοις ἔστιν ἡμῖν
31 χρήσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμπουσι, ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις πολλάκις ἡ Πυθία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πάτρια. καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρὴ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν
[47] ἢ περὶ ὧν ὅ τε θεὸς ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ, καὶ τά τε πάλαι ῥηθέντα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἔργοις συμμαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖ;
32 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, ἢν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἐάσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς σκοπῶμεν, εὑρήσομεν ὅτι τὸν βίον οἱ πρῶτοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ εὐθὺς οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχοντα κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὶ συνεπορίσαντο. τίνας οὖν χρὴ μᾶλλον νομίζειν ἢ

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[a] This custom is attested by inscriptions. See full discussion of it in Preller, *Griech. Mythol.* i. p. 773.

[b] For this view of the gradual progress of civilization see Xenophanes, Fr. 18 Diels; Aesch. *Prometheus Bound*, 447 ff.; Eur. *Suppliants* 201 ff.; Nauck, *Trag. Graec.*

In the first place, the very ground on which we might disparage the story, namely that it is ancient, would naturally lead us to believe that the events actually came to pass; for because many have told and all have heard the story which describes them, it is reasonable to regard this not, to be sure, as recent, yet withal as worthy of our faith. In the next place, we are not obliged to take refuge in the mere fact that we have received the account and the report from remote times; on the contrary, we are able to adduce even greater proofs than this regarding what took place. For most of the Hellenic cities, in memory of our ancient services, send us each year the first-fruits of the harvest, and those who neglect to do so have often been admonished by the Pythian priestess to pay us our due portion of their crops and to observe in relation to our city the customs of their fathers.[a] And about what, I should like to know, can we more surely exercise our faith than about matters as to which the oracle of Apollo speaks with authority, many of the Hellenes are agreed, and the words spoken long ago confirm the practice of to-day, while present events tally with the statements which have come down from the men of old? But apart from these considerations, if we waive all this and carry our inquiry back to the beginning, we shall find that those who first appeared upon the earth did not at the outset find the kind of life which we enjoy to-day, but that they procured it little by little through their own joint efforts.[b] Whom, then, must we think the most likely either to have received this better life as a gift from the gods

Frag. pp. 60, 236, 542, 771, 813, 931; and Lucretius's elaborate picture, v. 780 ff.

δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν λαβεῖν ἢ ζητοῦντας αὐτοὺς
33 ἐντυχεῖν; οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένους καὶ πρώτους γενομένους καὶ πρός τε τὰς τέχνας εὐφυεστάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους; καὶ μὴν ὅσης προσήκει τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τοὺς τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, περίεργον διδάσκειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο δωρεὰν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος εὑρεῖν, ἥ τις ἴση τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐστίν.

34 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν εὐεργετημάτων καὶ πρώτου γενομένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινοτάτου ταῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν· περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὁρῶσα τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας κατέχοντας, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἕλληνας εἰς μικρὸν τόπον κατακεκλειμένους καὶ διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατείας ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δι᾽ ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπ-
35 ολλυμένους, οὐδὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχοντα περιεῖδεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡγεμόνας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐξέπεμψεν, οἳ παραλαβόντες τοὺς μάλιστα βίου δεομένους, στρατηγοὶ καταστάντες αὐτῶν καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους, πολλὰς μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἑκατέρας τῆς ἠπείρου πόλεις ἔκτισαν, ἁπάσας δὲ τὰς νήσους κατῴκισαν, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς
36 ὑπομείναντας ἔσωσαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱκανὴν τὴν οἴκοι χώραν κατέλιπον, τοῖς δὲ πλείω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἐπόρισαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ περιεβάλοντο τὸν τόπον, ὃν νῦν τυγχάνομεν κατέχοντες. ὥστε καὶ

[a] For the traditional "Ionic migration," led by Athens, in the course of which settlements were made in Samos and Chios and in the islands of the Cyclades, in Asia Minor,

or to have hit upon it through their own search? Would it not be those who are admitted by all men to have been the first to exist, to be endowed with the greatest capacity for the arts, and to be the most devoted in the worship of the gods? And surely it is superfluous to attempt to show how high is the honour which the authors of such great blessings deserve; for no one could find a reward great enough to match the magnitude of their achievements.

This much, then, I have to say about that service to humanity which is the greatest, the earliest, and the most universal in its benefits. But at about the same time, our city, seeing the barbarians in possession of most of the country, while the Hellenes were confined within a narrow space and, because of the scarcity of the land, were conspiring and making raids against each other, and were perishing, some through want of daily necessities, others through war,—our city, I say, was not content to let these things be as they were, but sent out leaders to the several states, who, enlisting the neediest of the people, and placing themselves at their head, overcame the barbarians in war, founded many cities on either continent, settled colonies in all the islands, and saved both those who followed them and those who remained behind; for to the latter they left the home country—sufficient for their needs—and for the former they provided more land than they had owned since they embraced in their conquests all the territory which we Hellenes now possess.[a]

and on the shores of the Black Sea, see *Panath.* 43-44, 166, 190; Thuc. i. 2. 6; Grote, *History of Greece* (new edition), ii. pp. 21 ff.

τοῖς ὕστερον βουληθεῖσιν ἀποικίσαι τινὰς καὶ μιμή-
σασθαι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πολλὴν ῥᾳστώνην
ἐποίησαν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει κτωμένους χώραν
[48] διακινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφορι-
37 σθεῖσαν, εἰς ταύτην οἰκεῖν ἰόντας. καίτοι τίς ἂν
ταύτης ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ πατριωτέραν, τῆς
πρότερον γενομένης πρὶν τὰς πλείστας οἰκισθῆναι
τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἢ μᾶλλον συμφέρουσαν, τῆς
τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀναστάτους ποιησάσης, τοὺς δ'
Ἕλληνας εἰς τοσαύτην εὐπορίαν προαγαγούσης;
38 Οὐ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέγιστα συνδιέπραξε, τῶν
ἄλλων ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ταύτην ἐποιή-
σατο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, τροφὴν τοῖς δεομένοις εὑρεῖν,
ἥνπερ χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων
καλῶς διοικήσειν, ἡγουμένη δὲ τὸν βίον τὸν ἐπὶ
τούτοις μόνον οὔπω τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀξίως ἔχειν
οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε τῶν παρ-
όντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα μὴ παρὰ θεῶν
ἔχομεν ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γέγονε, μηδὲν μὲν
ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα
39 διὰ ταύτην γεγενῆσθαι. παραλαβοῦσα γὰρ τοὺς
Ἕλληνας ἀνόμως ζῶντας καὶ σποράδην οἰκοῦντας,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ δυναστειῶν ὑβριζομένους τοὺς δὲ
δι' ἀναρχίαν ἀπολλυμένους, καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν
αὐτοὺς ἀπήλλαξε, τῶν μὲν κυρία γενομένη, τοῖς δ'
αὑτὴν παράδειγμα ποιήσασα· πρώτη γὰρ καὶ νό-
40 μους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο. δῆλον δ'
ἐκεῖθεν· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῶν φονικῶν ἐγκαλέ-

[a] The tradition is probably correct that Athens was the first city to set her own house in order and so extended her influence over Greece. The creation of a civilized state out of scattered villages is attributed to King Theseus.

And so they smoothed the way for those also who in a later time resolved to send out colonists and imitate our city; for these did not have to undergo the perils of war in acquiring territory, but could go into the country marked out by us and settle there. And yet who can show a leadership more ancestral than this, which had its origin before most of the cities of Hellas were founded, or more serviceable than this, which drove the barbarians from their homes and advanced the Hellenes to so great prosperity?

Nor did our city, after she had played her part in bringing to pass the most important benefits, neglect what remained to be done; on the contrary she made it but the beginning of her benefactions to find for those who were in want that sustenance which men must have who are to provide well also for their other needs; but considering that an existence limited to this alone was not enough to make men desire to live, she gave such careful thought to their remaining wants as well that of the good things which are now at the service of mankind—in so far as we do not have them from the gods but owe them to each other—there is not one in which our city has had no part, and most of them are due to her alone. For, finding the Hellenes living without laws and in scattered abodes, some oppressed by tyrannies, others perishing through anarchy, she delivered them from these evils by taking some under her protection and by setting to others her own example; for she was the first to lay down laws and establish a polity.[a] This is apparent from the fact that those who in the beginning brought

[a] See *Helen* 35; *Panath.* 128 ff. In *Panath.* 151-4 Isocrates maintains that certain features of the Spartan constitution were borrowed from Athens.

σαντες, καὶ βουληθέντες μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας διαλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιήσαντο περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τάς τε πρὸς τἀναγκαῖα τοῦ βίου χρησίμας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεμηχανημένας, τὰς μὲν εὑροῦσα τὰς δὲ δοκιμάσασα χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέδωκεν.

41 Τὴν τοίνυν ἄλλην διοίκησιν οὕτω φιλοξένως κατεσκευάσατο καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας οἰκείως, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἁρμόττειν, καὶ μήτε τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσι μήτε τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν ἀχρήστως ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῖς μὲν ἡδίστας διατριβάς,
42 τοῖς δὲ ἀσφαλεστάτην καταφυγήν. ἔτι δὲ τὴν
[49] χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη κεκτημένων ἑκάστων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν τὰ δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὔσης τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι τὰ δ' ὁπόθεν εἰσαγαγέσθαι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπήμυνεν· ἐμπόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκευάσατο, τοσαύτην ἔχονθ' ὑπερβολήν, ὥσθ' ἃ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἓν παρ'

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[a] There is no evidence to bear out a literal interpretation of this statement, but the tradition is probably right which regarded the Areopagus in Athens as the first court set up in Greece for the trial of cases of homicide. It was believed that this court was first convened to try the case of Orestes, an alien. See Aesch. *Eum.* 684; Demosth. *Against Aristocr.* 65 ff.

[b] So *Panath.* 202. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 194, catalogues many Athenian discoveries in art. *Cf.* Milton, *Par. Reg.*

charges of homicide, and desired to settle their mutual differences by reason and not by violence, tried their cases under our laws.[a] Yes, and the arts also, both those which are useful in producing the necessities of life and those which have been devised to give us pleasure, she has either invented or stamped with her approval, and has then presented them to the rest of the world to enjoy.[b]

Moreover, she has established her polity in general in such a spirit of welcome to strangers[c] and friendliness[d] to all men, that it adapts itself both to those who lack means and to those who wish to enjoy the means which they possess, and that it fails to be of service neither to those who are prosperous nor to those who are unfortunate in their own cities; nay, both classes find with us what they desire, the former the most delightful pastimes, the latter the securest refuge. Again, since the different populations did not in any case possess a country that was self-sufficing, each lacking in some things and producing others in excess of their needs, and since they were greatly at a loss where they should dispose of their surplus and whence they should import what they lacked, in these difficulties also our city came to the rescue; for she established the Piraeus as a market in the centre of Hellas—a market of such abundance that the articles which it is difficult to

iv. 240: "Athens the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence."

[c] Thucydides in Pericles' funeral oration emphasizes the open hospitality of Athens to foreigners and strangers, ii. 39. 1.

[d] The word *οἰκείως* suggests *μέτοικοι*, the foreign residents, who numbered about one-third of the free population of Athens.

ἑκάστων χαλεπόν ἐστι λαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥᾴδιον εἶναι πορίσασθαι.

43 Τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δικαίως ἐπαινουμένων ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέδοσαν, ὥστε σπεισαμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰς ἔχθρας τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας διαλυσαμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κοινὰς ποιησαμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέρως δ' εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ τάς τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνανεώ-
44 σασθαι καὶ καινὰς ἑτέρας ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἰδιώταις μήτε τοῖς διενεγκοῦσι τὴν φύσιν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὴν διατριβήν, ἀλλ' ἀθροισθέντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν εὐτυχίας, τοῖς δὲ θεάσασθαι τούτους πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένους, καὶ μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὑτῶν ἕνεκα πονοῦντας, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν ἥκουσι, — τοσούτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνόδους ἡμῖν γιγνομέ-
45 νων οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη. καὶ γὰρ θεάματα πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα κέκτηται, τὰ μὲν ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερβάλλοντα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας εὐδοκιμοῦντα, τὰ δ' ἀμφοτέροις τούτοις διαφέροντα, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων

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[a] Thucydides states that all the products of the whole world found their way to Athens, ii. 38. 2.

[b] The armistice or "Peace of God"—the sacred month as it was called at Olympia—during which the states partici-

get, one here, one there, from the rest of the world, all these it is easy to procure from Athens.[a]

Now the founders of our great festivals are justly praised for handing down to us a custom by which, having proclaimed a truce[b] and resolved our pending quarrels, we come together in one place, where, as we make our prayers and sacrifices in common, we are reminded of the kinship which exists among us and are made to feel more kindly towards each other for the future, reviving our old friendships and establishing new ties.[c] And neither to common men nor to those of superior gifts is the time so spent idle and profitless, but in the concourse of the Hellenes the latter have the opportunity to display their prowess, the former to behold these contending against each other in the games; and no one lacks zest for the festival, but all find in it that which flatters their pride, the spectators when they see the athletes exert themselves for their benefit, the athletes when they reflect that all the world is come to gaze upon them. Since, then, the benefits which accrue to us from our assembling together are so great, here again our city has not been backward; for she affords the most numerous and the most admirable spectacles, some passing all bounds in outlay of money, some highly reputed for their artistic worth, and others excelling in both these regards;[d] and the multitude of people who visit us

pating in the games ceased from war. See Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 270.

[c] Lysias, *Olymp.* 1, speaks of Heracles as having founded the Olympic festival out of good will for Hellas.

[d] Isocrates here refers to the sights and show-places of Athens, and to the Panathenaic and the Dionysiac festivals especially. See Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, Chap. xii.

ὡς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστ' εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πλησιά-
ζειν ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
περιειλῆφθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ φιλίας εὑρεῖν
πιστοτάτας καὶ συνουσίαις ἐντυχεῖν παντοδαπωτά-
ταις μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἔτι δ' ἀγῶνας ἰδεῖν,
[50] μὴ μόνον τάχους καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ
γνώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἁπάντων, καὶ τού-
46 των ἆθλα μέγιστα. πρὸς γὰρ οἷς αὐτὴ τίθησι,
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδόναι συναναπείθει· τὰ γὰρ ὑφ'
ἡμῶν κριθέντα τοσαύτην λαμβάνει δόξαν ὥστε
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαπᾶσθαι. χωρὶς δὲ τού-
των αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πανηγύρεις διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου
συλλεγεῖσαι ταχέως διελύθησαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα
πόλις ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις παν-
ήγυρίς ἐστιν.

47 Φιλοσοφίαν τοίνυν, ἣ πάντα ταῦτα συνεξεῦρε
καὶ συγκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρός τε τὰς πράξεις
ἡμᾶς ἐπαίδευσε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπράϋνε, καὶ
τῶν συμφορῶν τάς τε δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἐξ
ἀνάγκης γιγνομένας διεῖλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν φυλά-
ξασθαι τὰς δὲ καλῶς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐδίδαξεν, ἡ πόλις
48 ἡμῶν κατέδειξε, καὶ λόγους ἐτίμησεν, ὧν πάντες
μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τοῖς δ' ἐπισταμένοις φθονοῦσι,

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[a] In *Antid.* 295 is a similar picture of the attractions and advantages of life in Athens.

[b] The meaning may be that prize-winners in Athens are awarded similar prizes in competitions elsewhere.

[c] The Panathenaic and the Dionysiac festivals were held every year, whereas the Olympic and Pythian games came only once in four years, and the Nemean and Isthmian games once in two years. Festival followed upon festival in Athens, and Isocrates' statement is almost literally true. Thucydides says the same thing, ii. 38, and Xenophon

is so great that, whatever advantage there is in our associating together, this also has been compassed by our city, Athens. Besides, it is possible to find with us as nowhere else the most faithful friendships and to enjoy the most varied social intercourse; and, furthermore, to see contests not alone of speed and strength, but of eloquence and wisdom and of all the other arts—and for these the greatest prizes;[a] since in addition to those which the city herself sets up, she prevails upon the rest of the world also to offer prizes;[b] for the judgements pronounced by us command such great approbation that all mankind accept them gladly. But apart from these considerations, while the assemblages at the other great festivals are brought together only at long intervals and are soon dispersed, our city throughout all time[c] is a festival for those who visit her.

Philosophy,[d] moreover, which has helped to discover and establish all these institutions, which has educated us for public affairs and made us gentle towards each other, which has distinguished between the misfortunes that are due to ignorance and those which spring from necessity, and taught us to guard against the former and to bear the latter nobly—philosophy, I say, was given to the world by our city. And Athens it is that has honoured eloquence,[e] which all men crave and envy in its possessors; for

declares that the Athenians celebrate twice as many festivals as the other Greeks, *Athenian Const.* iii. 8.

[d] For "philosophy" in Isocrates see General Introd. p. xxvi, and Cicero's definition, *De orat.* iii. 16, "omnis rerum optimarum cognitio, atque in iis exercitatio, philosophia."

[e] *Cf. Antid.* 295, 296; Plato, *Laws* 641 E; and Milton: "mother of arts and eloquence."

συνειδυῖα μὲν ὅτι τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν
ζῴων ἴδιον ἔφυμεν ἔχοντες, καὶ διότι τούτῳ
πλεονεκτήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αὐτῶν
διηνέγκαμεν, ὁρῶσα δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας πρά-
ξεις οὕτω ταραχώδεις οὔσας τὰς τύχας ὥστε πολ-
λάκις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους ἀτυχεῖν καὶ
τοὺς ἀνοήτους κατορθοῦν, τῶν δὲ λόγων τῶν
καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μετὸν τοῖς
φαύλοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εὖ φρονούσης ἔργον ὄντας,
49 *καὶ τούς τε σοφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς δοκοῦντας*
εἶναι ταύτῃ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέροντας, ἔτι δὲ
τοὺς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλευθέρως τεθραμμένους ἐκ
μὲν ἀνδρίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν
οὐ γιγνωσκομένους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων μάλιστα
καταφανεῖς γιγνομένους, καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον τῆς
παιδεύσεως ἡμῶν ἑκάστου πιστότατον ἀποδεδειγ-
μένον, καὶ τοὺς λόγῳ καλῶς χρωμένους οὐ μόνον
ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς
50 *ἄλλοις ἐντίμους ὄντας. τοσοῦτον δ᾿ ἀπολέλοιπεν*
ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς
ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ᾿ οἱ ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν
[51] *ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*
ὄνομα πεποίηκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους ἀλλὰ τῆς
διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἕλληνας κα-
λεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδεύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς
τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.

51 *Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ περὶ τὰ μέρη διατρίβειν ὑπὲρ*
ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποθέμενος μηδ᾿ ἐκ τούτων
ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν πόλιν ἀπορῶν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πό-

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[a] For the power and function of λόγος see *Nicocles* 5-9 ; *Antid.* 273 ; Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3.

she realized that this is the one endowment of our nature which singles us out from all living creatures, and that by using this advantage we have risen above them in all other respects as well;[a] she saw that in other activities the fortunes of life are so capricious that in them often the wise fail and the foolish succeed, whereas beautiful and artistic speech is never allotted to ordinary men, but is the work of an intelligent mind, and that it is in this respect that those who are accounted wise and ignorant present the strongest contrast; and she knew, furthermore, that whether men have been liberally educated from their earliest years is not to be determined by their courage or their wealth or such advantages, but is made manifest most of all by their speech, and that this has proved itself to be the surest sign of culture in every one of us, and that those who are skilled in speech are not only men of power in their own cities but are also held in honour in other states. And so far has our city distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers[b] of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name "Hellenes" suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and that the title "Hellenes" is applied rather to those who share our culture than to those who share a common blood.[c]

But in order that I may not appear to be dwelling at length on the details when I have proposed to speak on the general subject nor to be extolling the city for these accomplishments because I lack ground

[b] For Athens as the School of Greece see General Introd. p. xxviii; *Antid.* 296; Thuc. ii. 41. 1.

[c] See General Introd. p. xxxiv and *Evagoras* 47 ff. *Cf.* the inscription on the Gennadeion in Athens: Ἕλληνες καλοῦνται οἱ τῆς παιδεύσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας μετέχοντες.

λεμον αὐτὴν ἐπαινεῖν, ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλοτιμουμένους, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων
52 τιμᾶσθαι προσήκειν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν. οὐ γὰρ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ μεγάλους, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς
53 ἀδικουμένοις ἀεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύνουσαν. διὸ δὴ καὶ κατηγοροῦσί τινες ἡμῶν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευομένων, ὅτι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους εἰθίσμεθα θεραπεύειν, ὥσπερ οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαινεῖν βουλομένων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους ὄντας τοὺς τοιούτους. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅσον διαφέρουσιν αἱ μείζους τῶν συμμαχιῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὕτως ἐβουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον εἰδότες τὰ συμβαίνοντ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὅμως ᾑρούμεθα τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον βοηθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἕνεκα συναδικεῖν.

54 Γνοίη δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἱκετειῶν, ἃς ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐποιήσαντο. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἢ νεωστὶ γεγενημένας ἢ περὶ μικρῶν ἐλθούσας παραλείψω· πολὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν (ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ δίκαιον τὰς πίστεις λαμβάνειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμ-

[a] On Athens as a refuge for the oppressed see the words of Procles in Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 45. *Cf. Peace* 138.

for praising her conduct in war, let what I have said suffice for those who glory in such services. But I think that honour is due to our ancestors no less for their wars than for their other benefactions; for not slight, nor few, nor obscure, but many and dread and great, were the struggles they sustained, some for their own territories, some for the freedom of the rest of the world; for at all times, without ceasing, they have offered the city as a common refuge and as a champion to the Hellenes whenever oppressed.[a] And it is for this very reason that we are sometimes charged with adopting a foolish policy in that we are accustomed to cultivate the weaker peoples[b]—as though such charges do not support those who desire to sing our praises. For it was not because we failed to appreciate how much more advantageous great alliances are in point of security that we pursued this policy in regard to the weak; no, although we realized much more exactly than our rivals the consequences of such a course, we nevertheless preferred to stand by the weaker even against our interests rather than to unite with the stronger in oppressing others for our own advantage.

The character and power of Athens may be judged from the appeals which sundry people have in times past made to us for our help. Those of recent occurrence or for insignificant ends I shall omit; but long before the Trojan War (for it is only fair that those who dispute about immemorial rights should draw their arguments from that early time)

[b] Andocides, *On the Peace* 28, speaks of the "habitual bane" of Athens—that of throwing away her stronger friends and choosing the weaker. *Cf.* Plato, *Menex.* 244 E, and Demosthenes, *Against Leptines* 3.

φισβητοῦντας) ἦλθον οἵ θ' Ἡρακλέους παῖδες καὶ
μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ, βασιλεὺς
55 ὢν Ἄργους, οὗτος μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ
[52] Θήβας δεδυστυχηκώς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ
τελευτήσαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἀνελέσθαι,
τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς τύχαις
καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποθνή-
σκοντας ἀτάφους γιγνομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος
56 καὶ πάτριον νόμον καταλυόμενον, οἱ δ' Ἡρακλέους
παῖδες φεύγοντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἔχθραν, καὶ τὰς
μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ὑπερορῶντες ὡς οὐκ ἂν δυνα-
μένας βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν συμφοραῖς, τὴν δ'
ἡμετέραν ἱκανὴν νομίζοντες εἶναι μόνην ἀποδοῦναι
χάριν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους
εὐεργέτησεν.

57 Ἐκ δὴ τούτων ῥᾴδιον κατιδεῖν ὅτι καὶ κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε·
τίς γὰρ ἂν ἱκετεύειν τολμήσειεν ἢ τοὺς ἥττους
αὑτοῦ ἢ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέροις ὄντας, παραλιπὼν τοὺς
μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ πραγ-
μάτων οὐκ ἰδίων ἀλλὰ κοινῶν καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐ-
δένας ἄλλους εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι πλὴν τοὺς
58 προεστάναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντας; ἔπειτ' οὐδὲ

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[a] Heracles had been during his life a slave to the commands of Eurystheus, king of Mycenae. After the death of Heracles and his apotheosis, his sons were driven by Eurystheus out of the Peloponnesus. In the course of their wanderings they found refuge in Athens, where Theseus, the king, championed their cause against their oppressor. Eurystheus was killed in battle by Hyllus, one of the sons of Heracles. See Grote, *Hist.* i. p. 94.

Adrastus, king of Argos, was the leader of the expedition known in story as that of the "Seven (chiefs) against

there came to us the sons of Heracles[a] and, a little before them, Adrastus, Talaus's son, king of Argos. Adrastus, on his return from the expedition against Thebes where he had met with disaster and had not by his own efforts been able to recover the bodies of those who had fallen under the Cadmean fortress, called upon our city to lend aid in a misfortune which was of universal concern, and not to suffer that men who die in battle be left unburied nor that ancient custom and immemorial law[b] be brought to naught. The sons of Heracles, on the other hand, came fleeing the persecution of Eurystheus, ignoring the other states as not capable of succouring them in their distress, and looking upon our city as the only one great enough to make return for the benefits which their father had bestowed upon all mankind.

So from these facts it is easy to see that even at that time our city was in the position of a leader; for who would venture an appeal for help to those who were weaker than themselves, or to those who were subject to others, passing by those who had greater power, especially in matters not of personal but of public interest which none would be likely to take in hand but those who claimed to stand first among the Hellenes? And, in the next place, the

Thebes." They were defeated by the Thebans and were not even allowed to recover their dead for burial. Adrastus fled to Athens and there was given refuge and aid to avenge himself on the Thebans. See Grote, *Hist.* i. p. 277.

Both of these episodes are commonplaces in panegyrics on Athens. *Cf. Archidamus* 42; *Panath.* 168-171; [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 7-16—a close parallel to Isocrates; Plato, *Menex.* 239 B ff.; [Demosthenes], *Epitaph.* 8, 27; Lycurgus, *Against Leocr.* 98; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 46.

[b] The dead had a divine right to burial. See *Panath.* 169 and Sophocles, *Antigone.*

ψευσθέντες φαίνονται τῶν ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς κατ-
έφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν. ἀνελόμενοι γὰρ
πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν τελευτησάντων πρὸς
Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους
πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύ-
σαντες ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς
τοῖς προσήκουσι, Πελοποννησίων δὲ τοὺς μετ'
Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν εἰσβαλόντας ἐπ-
εξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι κἀκεῖνον τῆς ὕβρεως
59 ἔπαυσαν. θαυμαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἄλλας
πράξεις, ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐ-
δοκίμησαν. οὐ γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ
τοσοῦτον τὰς τύχας ἑκατέρων μετήλλαξαν, ὥσθ'
ὁ μὲν ἱκετεύειν ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσας βίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
ἅπανθ' ὅσων ἐδεήθη διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆλθεν,
Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ βιάσασθαι προσδοκήσας αὐτὸς αἰχ-
μάλωτος γενόμενος ἱκέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστῆναι,
60 καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερενεγκόντι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν,
ὃς ἐκ Διὸς μὲν γεγονὼς ἔτι δὲ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ
ῥώμην ἔσχε, τούτῳ μὲν ἐπιτάττων καὶ λυμαινό-
μενος ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ δ'
[53] εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξήμαρτεν, εἰς τοσαύτην κατέστη μετα-
βολήν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου γενόμενος
ἐπονειδίστως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

61 Πολλῶν δ' ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς τὴν
πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, περὶ ταύτης μόνης μοι
συμβέβηκεν εἰπεῖν· ἀφορμὴν γὰρ λαβόντες τὴν δι'
ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς γενομένην σωτηρίαν οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν
τῶν νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλευόντων, ἔκγονοι δ'
Ἡρακλέους, κατῆλθον μὲν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, κατ-

suppliants were manifestly not disappointed in the hopes which caused them to take refuge with our ancestors; for the Athenians went to war against the Thebans in the cause of those who had fallen in the battle, and against the power of Eurystheus in the cause of the sons of Heracles. Taking the field against the Thebans, they compelled them to restore the dead to their kindred for burial; and when the Peloponnesians, led by Eurystheus, had invaded our territory, they marched out against them, conquered them in battle, and put an end to their leader's insolence. And though they already commanded admiration for their other deeds, these exploits enhanced their fame still more; for they did not do things by halves, but so completely revolutionized the fortunes of either monarch that Adrastus, who had seen fit to throw himself on our mercy, went his way, having in despite of his foes won all that he had asked, while Eurystheus, who had expected to overpower us, was himself made captive and compelled to sue for mercy; and, although he had throughout all his life inflicted his orders and indignities on one whose nature transcended that of man, and who, being the son of Zeus, possessed, while still a mortal, the strength of a god, yet, when Eurystheus offended against us, he suffered so complete a reverse that he fell into the power of Heracles' sons and came to a shameful end.

Many are the services which we have rendered to the state of the Lacedaemonians, but it has suited my purpose to speak of this one only; for, starting with the advantage afforded by our succour of them, the descendants of Heracles—the progenitors of those who now reign in Lacedaemon—returned to the

ἔσχον δ' Ἄργος καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσήνην, οἰκισταὶ δὲ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν παρ-
62 όντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἁπάντων ἀρχηγοὶ κατέστησαν. ὧν ἐχρῆν ἐκείνους μεμνημένους μηδέποτ' εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην εἰσβαλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς ὁρμηθέντες τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν κατεκτήσαντο, μηδ' εἰς κινδύνους καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους προκινδυνεύσασαν, μηδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι διδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῷ γένει τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν οὖσαν δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς
63 ἀξιοῦν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικείας ἀνελόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δή που πάτριόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπήλυδας τῶν αὐτοχθόνων, οὐδὲ τοὺς εὖ παθόντας τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἱκέτας γενομένους τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων.

64 Ἔτι δὲ συντομώτερον ἔχω δηλῶσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, Ἄργος καὶ Θῆβαι καὶ Λακεδαίμων καὶ τότ' ἦσαν μέγισται καὶ νῦν ἔτι διατελοῦσι. φαίνονται δ' ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τοσοῦτον ἁπάντων διενεγκόντες, ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἀργείων δυστυχησάντων Θηβαίοις, ὅτε μέγιστον ἐφρόνησαν, ἐπι-
65 τάττοντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους μάχῃ κρατήσαντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα κινδύνων τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων διασώσαντες. ὥστε περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς

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[a] Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Heracles, had

Peloponnese, took possession of Argos, Lacedaemon, and Messene, settled Sparta, and were established as the founders of all the blessings which the Lacedaemonians now enjoy. These benefits they should have held in grateful remembrance, and should never have invaded this land from which they set out and acquired so great prosperity, nor have placed in peril the city which had imperilled herself for the sons of Heracles, nor, while bestowing the kingship upon his posterity,[a] have yet thought it right that the city which was the means of the deliverance of their race should be enslaved to their power. But if we have to leave out of account considerations of gratitude and fairness, and, returning to the main question, state the point which is most essential, assuredly it is not ancestral custom for immigrants to set themselves over the sons of the soil, or the recipients of benefits over their benefactors, or refugees over those who gave them asylum.

But I can make the matter clear in yet briefer terms. Of all the Hellenic states, excepting our own, Argos and Thebes and Lacedaemon were at that time the greatest, as they still are to this day. And yet our ancestors were manifestly so superior to them all that on behalf of the defeated Argives they dictated terms to the Thebans at the moment of their greatest pride, and on behalf of the sons of Heracles they conquered the Argives and the rest of the Peloponnesians in battle, and delivered the founders and leaders of Lacedaemon out of all danger from Eurystheus. Therefore, as to what state was

twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, who established the double line from which Sparta drew her two hereditary kings.

Ἕλλησι δυναστείας οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδεῖξαι δυνηθείη.

[54] 66 Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τ᾽ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνους. ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν ἐξαριθμῶν τοὺς κινδύνους λίαν ἂν μακρολογοίην· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅν περ ὀλίγῳ πρό-
67 τερον πειράσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων διελθεῖν. ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχικώτατα μὲν τῶν γενῶν καὶ μεγίστας δυναστείας ἔχοντα Σκύθαι καὶ Θρᾷκες καὶ Πέρσαι, τυγχάνουσι δ᾽ οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς ἅπαντας τούτους διακινδυνεύσασα. καίτοι τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν, ἢν ἐπιδειχθῶσι τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων ἡμᾶς ἱκετεύειν ἀξιοῦντες, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ βουλόμενοι καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς πρώτους ἰόντες;

68 Ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν οὖν τῶν πολέμων ὁ Περσικὸς γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ἐλάττω τεκμήρια τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. ἔτι γὰρ ταπεινῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦλθον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν Θρᾷκες μὲν μετ᾽ Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Σκύθαι δὲ μετ᾽ Ἀμαζόνων τῶν Ἄρεως θυγατέρων, οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον,

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[a] For these legendary wars against the Scythians, Amazons, and Thracians see Grote, *Hist.* i. pp. 201 ff. These stood out in the Athenian mind as their first great struggle against the barbarians, and generally found a

the first power in Hellas, I do not see how anyone could produce more convincing evidence.

But it seems to me fitting that I should speak also of the city's achievements against the barbarians, the more so since the subject which I have undertaken is the question of who should take the lead against them. Now if I were to go through the list of all our wars, I should speak at undue length; therefore I shall confine myself to the most important, endeavouring to deal with this topic also in the same manner in which I have just dealt with the other. Let us single out, then, the races which have the strongest instinct for domination and the greatest power of aggression—the Scythians and the Thracians and the Persians; it so happens that these have all had hostile designs upon us and that against all these our city has fought decisive wars. And yet what ground will be left for our opponents if it be shown that those among the Hellenes who are powerless to obtain their rights see fit to appeal to us for help, and that those among the barbarians who purpose to enslave the Hellenes make us the first object of their attacks?

Now, while the most celebrated of our wars was the one against the Persians, yet certainly our deeds of old offer evidence no less strong for those who dispute over ancestral rights. For while Hellas was still insignificant, our territory was invaded by the Thracians, led by Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, and by the Scythians, led by the Amazons,[a] the daughters of Ares—not at the same time, but during

place beside the Persian Wars in pictures of their glorious past. *Cf. Archid.* 42; *Areop.* 75; *Panath.* 193; [Lysias] *Epitaph.* 4 ff.; Plato, *Menex.* 239 B; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5. 9.

ἀλλὰ καθ᾽ ὃν ἑκάτεροι τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπῆρχον, μισοῦντες μὲν ἅπαν τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγκλήματα ποιησάμενοι, νομίζοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πρὸς μίαν μὲν πόλιν κιν-
69 δυνεύσειν, ἁπασῶν δ᾽ ἅμα κρατήσειν. οὐ μὴν κατώρθωσαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους συμβαλόντες ὁμοίως διεφθάρησαν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπολέμησαν. δῆλον δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐκείνοις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποθ᾽ οἱ λόγοι περὶ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον διέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πραχ-
70 θέντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν. λέγεται δ᾽ οὖν περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐλθουσῶν οὐδεμία πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, αἱ δ᾽ ὑπολειφθεῖσαι διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε συμφορὰν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξεβλήθησαν, περὶ δὲ Θρᾳκῶν ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὅμοροι προσοικοῦντες
[55] ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν τότε γενομένην[1] στρατείαν τοσοῦτον διέλιπον, ὥστ᾽ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς χώρας ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ γένη παντοδαπὰ καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας κατοικισθῆναι.

71 Καλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν· ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ τοιαῦθ᾽ οἷά περ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονότας, οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον καὶ Ξέρξην πολεμήσαντες ἔπραξαν. μεγίστου γὰρ πολέμου συστάντος ἐκείνου, καὶ πλείστων κινδύνων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμπεσόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀνυποστάτων οἰομένων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν

[1] διὰ τὴν τότε γενομένην (γεγενημένην) ΘΛ : om. Γ.

[a] These complaints are stated in *Panath.* 193.

[b] At the decisive battles of Marathon, 490 B.C., and Salamis, 480 B.C.

the period when both races were trying to extend their dominion over Europe; for though they hated the whole Hellenic race, they raised complaints [a] against us in particular, thinking that in this way they would wage war against one state only, but would at the same time impose their power on all the states of Hellas. Of a truth they were not successful; nay, in this conflict against our forefathers alone they were as utterly overwhelmed as if they had fought the whole world. How great were the disasters which befell them is evident; for the tradition respecting them would not have persisted for so long a time if what was then done had not been without parallel. At any rate, we are told regarding the Amazons that of all who came not one returned again, while those who had remained at home were expelled from power because of the disaster here; and we are told regarding the Thracians that, whereas at one time they dwelt beside us on our very borders, they withdrew so far from us in consequence of that expedition that in the spaces left between their land and ours many nations, races of every kind, and great cities have been established.

Noble indeed are these achievements—yea, and appropriate to those who dispute over the hegemony. But of the same breed as those which have been mentioned, and of such a kind as would naturally be expected of men descended from such ancestors, are the deeds of those who fought against Darius and Xerxes.[b] For when that greatest of all wars broke out and a multitude of dangers presented themselves at one and the same time, when our enemies regarded themselves as irresistible because of their

δὲ συμμάχων ἀνυπέρβλητον ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν
72 ἀρετήν, ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες ὡς ἑκατέρων
προσῆκεν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κινδύνους διενεγ-
κόντες, εὐθὺς μὲν τῶν ἀριστείων ἠξιώθησαν, οὐ
πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον,
δόντων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, οὐκ ἀμφισβη-
τούντων δὲ τῶν νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ζητούντων.
73 Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω μ' ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν
αἴτιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστησαν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο
καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖν ἔχω τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι τοιούτων
ἀνταγωνιστῶν τυχοῦσα τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν διήνεγκεν.
βούλομαι δ' ὀλίγῳ μακρότερα περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν
εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν, ἵν' ἀμφο-
τέρων ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα γένηται, τῆς τε τῶν
προγόνων ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους
74 ἔχθρας. καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστιν
ὕστατον ἐπελθόντα λέγειν περὶ πραγμάτων πάλαι
προκατειλημμένων, καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα
δυνηθέντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ
θαπτομένοις πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ
μὲν μέγιστ' αὐτῶν ἤδη κατακεχρῆσθαι, μικρὰ

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[a] This passage is closely imitated by Lycurgus, *Against Leocr.* 70, and by Aristeides, *Panath.* 217.

[b] By general acknowledgement. See 99 and *Areop.* 75, *Peace* 76.

[c] Athens obtained the supremacy as the head of the Confederacy of Delos 477 B.C. See *Areop.* 17; *Panath.* 67; Herod. ix. 106; Thuc. i. 95; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 34.

[d] The custom of delivering funeral orations for those who fell in battle seems to have originated in the Persian Wars. Of such orations the following are the most celebrated: the oration of Pericles in honour of those who died in the

numbers and our allies thought themselves endowed with a courage which could not be excelled, we outdid them both, surpassing each in the way appropriate to each;[a] and having proved our superiority in meeting all dangers, we were straightway awarded the meed of valour,[b] and we obtained, not long after, the sovereignty of the sea[c] by the willing grant of the Hellenes at large and without protest from those who now seek to wrest it from our hands.

And let no one think that I ignore the fact that during these critical times the Lacedaemonians also placed the Hellenes under obligations for many services; nay, for this reason I am able the more to extol our city because, in competition with such rivals, she so far surpassed them. But I desire to speak a little more at length about these two states, and not to hasten too quickly by them, in order that we may have before us reminders both of the courage of our ancestors and of their hatred against the barbarians. And yet I have not failed to appreciate the fact that it is difficult to come forward last and speak upon a subject which has long been appropriated, and upon which the very ablest speakers among our citizens have many times addressed you at the public funerals;[d] for, naturally, the most important topics have already been exhausted, while only unimportant topics have been left for later

first year of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 35-46); the *Epitaphios* of Gorgias, published in Athens some time after 347 B.C., represented by fragments only; the *Epitaphios* attributed to Lysias on those who fell in the Corinthian War, 394 B.C.; the *Menexenus* of Plato; the *Epitaphios* attributed to Demosthenes on those who were killed at Chaeronea; that of Hypereides on the heroes of the Lamian War.

δ' ἔτι[1] παραλελεῖφθαι. ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων, ἐπειδὴ συμφέρει τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ ὀκνητέον μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

75 Πλείστων μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων ἐπαίνων ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ
[56] μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου γενομένων καὶ δυναστευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τοῖν πολέοιν δίκαιον ἀμνημονεῖν· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προασκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ χαλεποὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς
76 τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσαντες. οὐ γὰρ ὠλιγώρουν τῶν κοινῶν, οὐδ' ἀπέλαυον μὲν ὡς ἰδίων, ἠμέλουν δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐκήδοντο μὲν ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπείχοντο δ' ὥσπερ χρὴ τῶν μηδὲν προσηκόντων· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔκρινον, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐδόκει πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέστατον κεκτῆσθαι καὶ κάλλιστον, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνοι πράττων ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τε μέλλοι μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ
77 τοῖς παισὶ μεγίστην δόξαν καταλείψειν. οὐδὲ τὰς θρασύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐζήλουν, οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὑτῶν ἤσκουν, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ καλῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνήσκειν, μᾶλλον δ' ᾐσχύνοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν.

[1] δ' ἔτι Sandys: δέ τι Γ: δέ τινα vulg.

[a] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocrates* 5, gives a digest of 75-81 and remarks with unction that no one can read it without being stirred to patriotism and devoted citizenship. However, later (14) he quotes extensively from the same division of the speech to illustrate the author's excessive artifices of style.

speakers. Nevertheless, since they are apposite to the matter in hand, I must not shirk the duty of taking up the points which remain and of recalling them to your memory.

[a] Now the men who are responsible for our greatest blessings and deserve our highest praise are, I conceive, those who risked their bodies in defence of Hellas ; and yet we cannot in justice fail to recall also those who lived before this war and were the ruling power in each of the two states ; for they it was who, in good time, trained the coming generation and turned the masses of the people toward virtue, and made of them stern foemen of the barbarians. For they did not slight the commonwealth, nor seek to profit by it as their own possession, nor yet neglect it as the concern of others ; but were as careful of the public revenues as of their private property, yet abstained from them as men ought from that to which they have no right.[b] Nor did they estimate well-being by the standard of money, but in their regard that man seemed to have laid up the securest fortune and the noblest who so ordered his life that he should win the highest repute for himself and leave to his children the greatest name ; neither did they vie with one another in temerity, nor did they cultivate recklessness in themselves, but thought it a more dreadful thing to be charged with dishonour by their countrymen than to die honourably for their country ; and they blushed more for the sins of the commonwealth than men do nowadays for their own.

[b] This artificial paragraph is closely paralleled in *Areop.* 24 and in *Nicocles* 21.

78 Τούτων δ' ἦν αἴτιον ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ἐσκόπουν
ὅπως ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἕξουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων ὡς τοὺς περὶ τῶν καθ'
ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἠπίσταντο
γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν
δεήσει πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀλίγων συν-
θημάτων ῥᾳδίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ
79 τῶν κοινῶν ὁμονοήσουσιν. οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς
εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς
ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὁπότεροι τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀπολέσαντες
τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι φθήσονται
τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες· καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας
συνῆγον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίᾳ συμφερόντων, ἀλλ'
80 ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὠφελείᾳ. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ
τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διῴκουν, θεραπεύοντες
ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ στρατη-
γεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ
μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπόται προσ-
αγορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτῆρες ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀπο-
καλεῖσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι τὰς πόλεις,
81 ἀλλ' οὐ βίᾳ καταστρεφόμενοι, πιστοτέροις μὲν τοῖς
[57] λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συν-
θήκαις ὥσπερ ἀνάγκαις ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες, οὐχ
οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις μέγα φρονοῦντες, ὡς
ἐπὶ τῷ σωφρόνως ζῆν φιλοτιμούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν
ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἥττους ἥνπερ

[a] *Cf. Areop.* 41. This part of the *Panegyricus* has much in common with the pictures of the old democracy in Athens drawn in the *Areopagiticus* and the *Panathenaicus*.

[b] Political parties and clubs of that day are here no doubt idealized to point the contrast to the selfish intrigues of the present. *Cf. Paneg.* 168 and Thucydides' picture of the evils of faction, iii. 82. These clubs, whatever they

The reason for this was that they gave heed to the laws to see that they should be exact and good—not so much the laws about private contracts as those which have to do with men's daily habits of life; for they understood that for good and true men there would be no need of many written laws,[a] but that if they started with a few principles of agreement they would readily be of one mind as to both private and public affairs. So public-spirited were they that even in their party struggles they opposed one another, not to see which faction should destroy the other and rule over the remnant, but which should outstrip the other in doing something good for the state; and they organized their political clubs, not for personal advantage, but for the benefit of the people.[b] In the same spirit they governed their relations with other states. They treated the Hellenes with consideration and not with insolence, regarding it as their duty to command them in the field but not to tyrannize over them, desiring rather to be addressed as leaders than as masters, and rather to be greeted as saviours than reviled as destroyers; they won the Hellenic cities to themselves by doing kindness instead of subverting them by force, keeping their word more faithfully than men now keep their oaths, and thinking it right to abide by their covenants as by the decrees of necessity; they exulted less in the exercise of power than they gloried in living with self-control, thinking it their duty to feel toward the weaker as they expected the

may have been in the Golden Age, were later sworn enemies of popular government and the centres of oligarchical conspiracies. See Thuc. viii. 54; and Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, xxxiv.

τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἴδια μὲν ἄστη τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι.

82 Τοιαύταις διανοίαις χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἤθεσι παιδεύοντες, οὕτως ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέδειξαν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ὥστε μηδένα πώποτε δυνηθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀξίως τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην· ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστι χαλεπὸν ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ὑπερβεβληκότας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετὰς ὥσπερ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκότας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὕπεισι πράξεις,
83 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἁρμόττοντες λόγοι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιντο σύμμετροι τοιούτοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τοσοῦτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένων διήνεγκαν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπολέμησαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν; ποίων δ᾽ ἂν ἔργων ἢ πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν ὥστε ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν, οἵ τινες ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔμελλον τελευτήσαντες ἕξειν οὕτως ἑτοίμως ἤθελον ἀποθνή-
84 σκειν; οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν ἀγασθέντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὴν φύσιν διαλάθοιεν μηδ᾽ ἀκλεῶς τὸν βίον τελευτήσαιεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγονόσι καὶ καλουμένοις

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[a] A favourite comparison. *Cf.* 186, *Phil.* 111-112, *Evag.* 65.

stronger to feel toward themselves; and, while they regarded their home cities as their several places of abode, yet they considered Hellas to be their common fatherland.

Because they were inspired by such sentiments, and educated the young in such habits of conduct, they produced in the persons of those who fought against the Asiatic hordes men of so great valour that no one, either of the poets or of the sophists, has ever been able to speak in a manner worthy of their achievements. And I can well excuse them, for it is quite as difficult to praise those who have excelled the exploits of the rest of the world as to praise those who have done no good thing at all; for in the case of the latter the speaker has no support in deeds, and to describe the former there exist no fitting words. For what words can match the measure of such men, who so far surpassed the members of the expedition against Troy that, whereas the latter consumed ten years beleaguering a single city,[a] they, in a short space of time, completely defeated the forces that had been collected from all Asia, and not only saved their own countries but liberated the whole of Hellas as well? And from what deeds or hardships or dangers would they have shrunk so as to enjoy men's praise while living—these men who were so ready to lay down their lives for the sake of the glory they would have when dead? Methinks some god out of admiration for their valour brought about this war in order that men endowed by nature with such a spirit should not be lost in obscurity nor die without renown, but should be deemed worthy of the same honours as are given to those who have sprung from the gods and are called

*ἡμιθέοις ἀξιωθεῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν σώματα
ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδοσαν, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς
ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην ἐποίησαν.*

85 *Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν οἵ θ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι φιλοτίμως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ περὶ καλλίστων ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφιλο-*
[58] *νίκησαν, οὐκ ἐχθροὺς ἀλλ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων τὸν βάρβαρον θεραπεύοντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ
μὲν τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ὁμονοοῦντες, ὁπότεροι
δὲ ταύτης αἴτιοι γενήσονται, περὶ τούτου ποιού-
μενοι τὴν ἅμιλλαν.*

Ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αὑτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν
86 *ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεῖσιν. ἀποβάντων γὰρ
αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμειναν
τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον
ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατα-
φρονήσαντας ἀπήντων τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔχον-
τες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν
ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ
ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον,
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες ἧκον ἡμῖν
ἀμυνοῦντες, τοσαύτην ποιησάμενοι σπουδὴν ὅσην*
87 *περ ἂν τῆς αὑτῶν χώρας πορθουμένης. σημεῖον
δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἁμίλλης· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
ἡμετέρους προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας
πυθέσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ
βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας μάχῃ*

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[a] Sections 85-87 are closely paralleled in [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 23-26.

[b] As was done by the Peace of Antalcidas. See 115, note.

demi-gods; for while the gods surrendered the bodies even of their own sons to the doom of nature, yet they have made immortal the memory of their valour.

[a] Now while our forefathers and the Lacedaemonians were always emulous of each other, yet during that time their rivalry was for the noblest ends; they did not look upon each other as enemies but as competitors, nor did they court the favour of the barbarians for the enslavement of the Hellenes [b]; on the contrary, they were of one mind when the common safety was in question, and their rivalry with each other was solely to see which of them should bring this about.

They first displayed their valour when Darius sent his troops; for when the Persians landed in Attica the Athenians did not wait for their allies, but, making the common war their private cause, they marched out with their own forces alone to meet an enemy who looked with contempt upon the whole of Hellas —a mere handful against thousands upon thousands [c] —as if they were about to risk the lives of others, not their own; [d] the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, no sooner heard of the war in Attica than they put all else aside and came to our rescue, having made as great haste as if it had been their own country that was being laid waste. A proof of the swiftness and of the rivalry of both is that, according to the account, our ancestors on one and the same day [e] learned of the landing of the barbarians, rushed to the defence of the borders of their land,

[c] The Athenians at Marathon were reckoned at ten thousand, the Persians at about two hundred thousand.

[d] Echoed from Thuc. i. 70.

[e] Isocrates makes greater " haste " than Herod. vi. 110.

νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων, τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ διακόσια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένους. οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπείχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλόντες
88 πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς βοηθήσοντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ὕστερον στρατείας, ἣν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἤγαγεν, ἐκλιπὼν μὲν τὰ βασίλεια, στρατηγὸς δὲ καταστῆναι τολμήσας, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας συναγείρας· περὶ οὗ τίς οὐχ ὑπερβολὰς προθυμηθεὶς εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἴρη-
89 κεν; ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστε μικρὸν μὲν ἡγησάμενος ἔργον εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρώσασθαι, βουληθεὶς δὲ τοιοῦτον μνημεῖον καταλιπεῖν ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς ἐστιν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρὶν ἐξεῦρε καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ὃ πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὥστε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας.

[59]
90 Πρὸς δὴ τὸν οὕτω μέγα φρονήσαντα καὶ τηλικαῦτα διαπραξάμενον καὶ τοσούτων δεσπότην γενόμενον ἀπήντων διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν, χιλίους αὐτῶν ἐπιλέξαντες καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγους παραλαβόντες, ὡς ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κωλύσοντες αὐτοὺς περαιτέρω προελθεῖν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι

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[a] This agrees with Herod. vi. 120.

[b] The second campaign is described by Herod. vii.-ix.

[c] A like artificiality of rhetoric to describe the presumption of Xerxes in building a bridge across the Hellespont for his troops and a canal through the promontory of

won the battle, and set up a trophy of victory over the enemy ; while the Lacedaemonians in three days and as many nights [a] covered twelve hundred stadia in marching order : so strenuously did they both hasten, the Lacedaemonians to share in the dangers, the Athenians to engage the enemy before their helpers should arrive. Then came the later expedition,[b] which was led by Xerxes in person ; he had left his royal residence, boldly taken command as general in the field, and collected about him all the hosts of Asia. What orator, however eager to overshoot the mark, has not fallen short of the truth in speaking of this king, who rose to such a pitch of arrogance that, thinking it a small task to subjugate Hellas, and proposing to leave a memorial such as would mark a more than human power, did not stop until he had devised and compelled the execution of a plan whose fame is on the lips of all mankind—a plan by which, having bridged the Hellespont and channelled Athos, he sailed his ships across the mainland, and marched his troops across the main ? [c]

It was against a king who had grown so proud, who had carried through such mighty tasks, and who had made himself master of so many men, that our ancestors and the Lacedaemonians marched forth, first dividing the danger : the latter going to Thermopylae to oppose the land forces with a thousand [d] picked soldiers of their own, supported by a few of their allies, with the purpose of checking the Persians in the narrow pass from advancing farther ; while

Athos for his ships (Herod. vii. 22-24) seems to have been conventional. *Cf.* [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 29 and Aesch. *Persians*, 745 ff.

[d] There were originally in all about four thousand, according to Herod. vii. 202.

πατέρες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἑξήκοντα τριήρεις πληρώσαντες πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυτικόν.
91 *ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων οὐχ οὕτω τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονοῦντες ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιῶντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ζηλοῦντες τὴν πόλιν τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης, καὶ ζητοῦντες αὑτοὺς ἐξισῶσαι, καὶ δεδιότες μὴ δὶς ἐφεξῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτία γένηται τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς σωτηρίας, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι μάλιστα μὲν βουλόμενοι διαφυλάξαι τὴν παροῦσαν δόξαν, καὶ πᾶσι ποιῆσαι φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρότερον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τύχην ἐνίκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ προαγαγέσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διαναυμαχεῖν, ἐπιδείξαντες αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς κινδύνοις ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλήθους περιγιγνομένην.*

92 *Ἴσας δὲ τὰς τόλμας παρασχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπεῖπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε θέμις εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡττήθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν), οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τὰς μὲν πρόπλους ἐνίκησαν, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἤκουσαν τῆς παρόδου τοὺς πολεμίους κρατοῦντας, οἴκαδε καταπλεύσαντες οὕτως ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν αὐτοῖς προειργασμένων ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῶν κινδύνων ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκαν.*

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[a] An understatement of the number. *Cf.* Herod. viii. 1.
[b] Paralleled in Plato, *Menex.* 240 D; [Lysias] *Epitaph.* 23; Lycurg. *Against Leocr.* 108.

our ancestors sailed to Artemisium with sixty triremes [a] which they had manned to oppose the whole armada of the enemy. And they dared to do these things, not so much in contempt of their foes as in keen rivalry against each other: the Lacedaemonians envying our city its victory at Marathon, and seeking to even the score, and fearing, furthermore, lest our city should twice in succession be the instrument of saving Hellas; while our ancestors, on the other hand, desired above all to maintain the reputation they had won, and to prove to the world that in their former battle they had conquered through valour and not through fortune, and in the next place to incite the Hellenes to carry on the war with their ships, by showing that in fighting on the sea no less than on the land valour prevails over numbers.[b]

But though they displayed equal courage, they did not meet with similar fortunes. The Lacedaemonians were utterly destroyed. Although in spirit they were victorious, in body they were outworn; for it were sacrilege to say that they were defeated, since not one of them deigned to leave his post.[c] Our ancestors, on the other hand, met and conquered the advance squadron of the Persians; and when they heard that the enemy were masters of the pass,[d] they sailed back home and adopted such measures for what remained to be done that, however many and however glorious had been their previous achievements, they outdid themselves still more in the final hazards of that war.

[c] This paragraph is closely paralleled in [Lysias] *Epitaph.* 31; Hypereides, *Epitaph.* 27; and Lycurg. *Against Leocr.* 48.
[d] Thermopylae.

93 Ἀθύμως γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν συμμάχων δια-
κειμένων, καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατειχιζόντων
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ ζητούντων ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν,
τῶν δ' ἄλλων πόλεων ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γε-
γενημένων καὶ συστρατευομένων ἐκείνοις, πλὴν εἴ
τις διὰ μικρότητα παρημελήθη, προσπλεουσῶν δὲ
τριήρων διακοσίων καὶ χιλίων καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς
ἀναριθμήτου μελλούσης εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσ-
[60] βάλλειν, οὐδεμιᾶς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ὑποφαινομένης,
ἀλλ' ἔρημοι συμμάχων γεγενημένοι καὶ τῶν
94 ἐλπίδων ἁπασῶν διημαρτηκότες, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μὴ
μόνον τοὺς παρόντας κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν ἀλλὰ
καὶ τιμὰς ἐξαιρέτους λαβεῖν, ἃς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου
βασιλεὺς ἡγούμενος, εἰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προσλάβοι
ναυτικόν, παραχρῆμα καὶ Πελοποννήσου κρατή-
σειν, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεάς, οὐδ'
ὀργισθέντες τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι προὐδόθησαν ἀσμέ-
νως ἐπὶ τὰς διαλλαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους
95 ὥρμησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τὴν δου-
λείαν αἱρουμένοις συγγνώμην εἶχον. ἡγοῦντο γὰρ
ταῖς μὲν ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων προσήκειν ἐκ
παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ταῖς δὲ
προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσαις οὐχ οἷόν τ'
εἶναι διαφεύγειν τοὺς κινδύνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι
καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχρῶς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν
πόλεων ταῖς ὑπερεχούσαις λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφανισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις.

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[a] An army of 2,640,000, acc. to Herod. vii. 185.

[b] The attempt to bribe the Athenians was, according to Herod. viii. 136, made after the battle of Salamis.

For when all the allies were in a state of dejection, and the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus and selfishly seeking their own safety; when the other states had submitted to the barbarians and were fighting on the Persian side, save only those which were overlooked because of their insignificance; when twelve hundred ships of war were bearing down upon them, and an innumerable army [a] was on the point of invading Attica; when no light of deliverance could be glimpsed in any quarter, but, on the contrary, the Athenians had been abandoned by their allies and cheated of their every hope; and when it lay in their power not only to escape from their present dangers but also to enjoy the signal honours which the King held out to them, since he conceived that if he could get the support of the Athenian fleet he could at once become master of the Peloponnesus also, then our ancestors scorned to accept his gifts; [b] nor did they give way to anger against the Hellenes for having betrayed them and rush gladly to make terms with the barbarians; nay, by themselves they made ready to battle for freedom, while they forgave the rest for choosing bondage. For they considered that while it was natural for the weaker states to seek their security by every means, it was not possible for those states which asserted their right to stand at the head of Hellas to avoid the perils of war; on the contrary, they believed that just as it is preferable for men who are honourable to die nobly rather than to live in disgrace, so too it is better for cities which are illustrious to be blotted out from the sight of mankind rather than to be seen in a state of bondage.

96 δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτα διενοήθησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ
οἷοί τ' ἦσαν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα παρατάξασθαι
τὰς δυνάμεις, παραλαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον
τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον ἐξ-
έπλευσαν, ἵν' ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν κινδυνεύσωσιν.
Καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἐκείνων ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἢ μᾶλλον
φιλέλληνες ὄντες ἐπιδειχθεῖεν, οἵτινες ἔτλησαν
ἐπιδεῖν, ὥστε μὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἴτιοι γενέσθαι τῆς
δουλείας, ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην, τὴν
δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην, ἱερὰ δὲ συλώμενα καὶ
νεὼς ἐμπιπραμένους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ
97 τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὑτῶν γιγνόμενον; καὶ οὐδὲ
ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χιλίας καὶ
διακοσίας τριήρεις μόνοι διαναυμαχεῖν ἐμέλλησαν.
οὐ μὴν εἰάθησαν· καταισχυνθέντες γὰρ Πελο-
ποννήσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ νομίσαντες προ-
διαφθαρέντων μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ' αὐτοὶ
σωθήσεσθαι, κατορθωσάντων δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν τὰς
[61] αὑτῶν πόλεις καταστήσειν, ἠναγκάσθησαν μετα-
σχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύβους τοὺς
ἐν τῷ πράγματι γενομένους καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ
τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν
ναυμαχούντων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγοντα δια-
98 τρίβειν· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἴδια καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἄξια
καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμολογούμενα, ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν
ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν
διέφερεν, ὅτ' ἦν ἀκέραιος, ὥστ' ἀνάστατος γενο-
μένη πλείους μὲν συνεβάλετο τριήρεις εἰς τὸν
κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ

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[a] *Cf*. [Lysias], *Epitaph*. 33 ff.

[b] Unlike Gorgias, Fr. 18, and [Lysias], *Epitaph*. 37, who do go into such details.

It is evident that they were of this mind ; for when they were not able to marshal themselves against both the land and the sea forces at once, they took with them the entire population, abandoned the city, and sailed to the neighbouring island, in order that they might encounter each force in turn.[a]

And yet how could men be shown to be braver or more devoted to Hellas than our ancestors, who, to avoid bringing slavery upon the rest of the Hellenes, endured to see their city made desolate, their land ravaged, their sanctuaries rifled, their temples burned, and all the forces of the enemy closing in upon their own country ? But in truth even this did not satisfy them ; they were ready to give battle on the sea—they alone against twelve hundred ships of war. They were not, indeed, allowed to fight alone ; for the Peloponnesians, put to shame by our courage, and thinking, moreover, that if the Athenians should first be destroyed, they could not themselves be saved from destruction, and that if the Athenians should succeed, their own cities would be brought into disrepute, they were constrained to share the dangers. Now the clamours that arose during the action, and the shoutings and the cheers—things which are common to all those who fight on ships—I see no reason why I should take time to describe ; [b] my task is to speak of those matters which are distinctive and give claim to leadership, and which confirm the arguments which I have already advanced. In short, our city was so far superior while she stood unharmed that even after she had been laid waste she contributed more ships to the battle for the deliverance of Hellas than all the others put

ναυμαχήσαντες, οὐδεὶς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅς τις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε διὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι, ταύτης δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι.

99 Καίτοι μελλούσης στρατείας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔσεσθαι τίνας χρὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμήσαντας, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἰδίᾳ προκινδυνεύσαντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων ἀριστείων ἀξιωθέντας; οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὑτῶν ἐκλιπόντας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας, καὶ τό τε παλαιὸν οἰκιστὰς τῶν πλείστων πόλεων γενομένους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν διασώσαντας; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμεν, εἰ τῶν κακῶν πλεῖστον μέρος μετασχόντες ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἀξιωθεῖμεν, καὶ τότε προταχθέντες ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων νῦν ἑτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖμεν;

100 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῶν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρελάβομεν, πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστημεν, καὶ τόν τε Μηλίων ἀνδραποδισμὸν καὶ τὸν Σκιωναίων ὄλεθρον ἐν τούτοις

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[a] So *Panath.* 50 and [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 42. But according

together [a] who fought in the engagement; and no one is so prejudiced against us that he would not acknowledge that it was by winning the sea fight that we conquered in the war, and that the credit for this is due to Athens.[b]

Who then should have the hegemony, when a campaign against the barbarians is in prospect? Should it not be they who distinguished themselves above all others in the former war? Should it not be they who many times bore, alone, the brunt of battle, and in the joint struggles of the Hellenes were awarded the prize of valour? Should it not be they who abandoned their own country to save the rest of Hellas, who in ancient times founded most of the Hellenic cities, and who later delivered them from the greatest disasters? Would it not be an outrage upon us, if, having taken the largest share in the evils of war, we should be adjudged worthy of a lesser share in its honours, and if, having at that time been placed in the lead in the cause of all the Hellenes, we should now be compelled to follow the lead of others?

Now up to this point I am sure that all men would acknowledge that our city has been the author of the greatest number of blessings, and that she should in fairness be entitled to the hegemony. But from this point on some take us to task, urging that after we succeeded to the sovereignty of the sea we brought many evils upon the Hellenes; and, in these speeches of theirs, they cast it in our teeth that we enslaved the Melians and destroyed the

to Herod. viii. 44-48 the Athenians furnished 180, the others 198.

[b] *Cf. Panath.* 51.

101 τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦτο σημεῖον ὡς κακῶς ἤρχομεν, εἴ τινες τῶν πολεμησάντων ἡμῖν σφόδρα φαίνονται κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τόδε μεῖζον τεκμήριον ὡς καλῶς διῳκοῦμεν τὰ τῶν συμ-
[62] μάχων, ὅτι τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οὐσῶν
102 οὐδεμία ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιέπεσεν. ἔπειτ' εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων πρᾳότερον ἐπεμελήθησαν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιτιμῷεν· εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦτο γέγονε μήθ' οἷόντ' ἐστὶ τοσούτων πόλεων τὸ πλῆθος κρατεῖν, ἣν μή τις κολάζῃ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἤδη δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν, οἵ τινες ἐλαχίστοις χαλεπήναντες πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν;

103 Οἶμαι δὲ πᾶσι δοκεῖν τούτους κρατίστους προστάτας γενήσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ πειθαρχήσαντες ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες. ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας εὑρήσομεν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πλεῖστον
104 ἐπιδόντας καὶ τὰς πόλεις μεγίστας γενομένας. οὐ γὰρ ἐφθονοῦμεν ταῖς αὐξανομέναις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ταραχὰς ἐνεποιοῦμεν πολιτείας ἐναντίας παρακαθ-

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[a] The Melian episode is dramatically told by Thucydides v. 84-116. Because the Melians refused to join the Delian Confederacy they were besieged and conquered by the Athenians, 416 B.C. The men of military age were put to the sword and the women and children sold into slavery. Five hundred Athenians were later settled there. Scione revolted from the Confederacy in 423 B.C. Reduced to subjection in 421 B.C., the people suffered the same fate as did the Melians later and their territory was occupied by Plataean refugees (Thuc. iv. 120-130). These are blots on the record which Isocrates can at best condone. "Even

people of Scione.[a] I, however, take the view, in the first place, that it is no sign that we ruled badly if some of those who were at war with us are shown to have been severely disciplined, but that a much clearer proof that we administered the affairs of our allies wisely is seen in the fact that among the states which remained our loyal subjects not one experienced these disasters. In the second place, if other states had dealt more leniently with the same circumstances, they might reasonably censure us; but since that is not the case, and it is impossible to control so great a multitude of states without disciplining those who offend, does it not follow that we deserve praise because we acted harshly in the fewest possible cases and were yet able to hold our dominion for the greatest length of time?

But I believe that all men are of the opinion that those will prove the best leaders and champions of the Hellenes under whom in the past those who yielded obedience have fared the best. Well, then, it will be found that under our supremacy the private households grew most prosperous and that the commonwealths also became greatest. For we were not jealous of the growing states,[b] nor did we engender confusion among them by setting up conflicting polities side by side, in order that faction

the gods are not thought to be above reproach," he says in the *Panathenaicus*, 62-64, where he discusses frankly these sins of the Athenian democracy. Xenophon tells us that when the Athenians found themselves in like case with these conquered peoples after the disaster at Aegospotami they bitterly repented them of this injustice, *Hell.* ii. 3.

[b] In this and the following paragraphs we have a summing up of the spirit of the Athenian hegemony in contrast to that of the Spartan supremacy described in 115 ff. *Cf. Panath.* 59 ff.

ιστάντες, ἵν᾿ ἀλλήλοις μὲν στασιάζοιεν, ἡμᾶς δ᾿ ἀμφότεροι θεραπεύοιεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὁμόνοιαν κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν νομίζοντες τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις διῳκοῦμεν, συμμαχικῶς ἀλλ᾿ οὐ δεσποτικῶς βουλευόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν,
105 ὅλων μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ δ᾿ ἑκάστους ἐλευθέρους ἐῶντες εἶναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν πλήθει βοηθοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ δυναστείαις πολεμοῦντες, δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀλίγοις εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνδεεστέρους τὰ δ᾿ ἄλλα μηδὲν χείρους ὄντας ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔτι δὲ κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης τοὺς μὲν τυραννεῖν τοὺς δὲ μετοικεῖν, καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ τῆς πολιτείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι.

106 Τοιαῦτ᾿ ἔχοντες ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐπιτιμᾶν καὶ πλείω τούτων, τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν ἥνπερ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεστήσαμεν, ἣν οὐκ οἶδ᾿ ὅ τι δεῖ διὰ μακροτέρων ἐπαινεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλῶσαι περὶ αὐτῆς. μετὰ γὰρ ταύτης οἰκοῦντες ἑβδομήκοντ᾿ ἔτη διετέλεσαν ἄπειροι μὲν τυραννίδων, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀστασίαστοι δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἰρήνην δ᾿ ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

[63] 107 Ὑπὲρ ὧν προσήκει τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας μεγάλην

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[a] ταῖς δυναστείαις means simply "powers" in 81, but commonly powers not responsible to the people—oligarchies as here or tyrannies as in 39.

[b] A pan-Hellenic sentiment. *Cf.* 81.

[c] Citizens under oligarchies are without rights; they are like the metics in Athens—residents on sufferance.

[d] By φύσις, nature. *Cf.* "All men are created equal." The contrast between nature and convention—φύσις and νόμος—was a favourite topic of discussion among the sophists. *Cf.* an echo of it in *To Dem.* 10.

might be arrayed against faction and that both might court our favour. On the contrary, we regarded harmony among our allies as the common boon of all, and therefore we governed all the cities under the same laws, deliberating about them in the spirit of allies, not of masters ; guarding the interests of the whole confederacy but leaving each member of it free to direct its own affairs ; supporting the people but making war on despotic powers,[a] considering it an outrage that the many should be subject to the few, that those who were poorer in fortune but not inferior in other respects should be banished from the offices, that, furthermore, in a fatherland which belongs to all in common [b] some should hold the place of masters, others of aliens,[c] and that men who are citizens by birth [d] should be robbed by law of their share in the government.

It was because we had these objections, and others besides, to oligarchies that we established the same polity [e] in the other states as in Athens itself—a polity which I see no need to extol at greater length, since I can tell the truth about it in a word : They continued to live under this regime for seventy years,[f] and, during this time, they experienced no tyrannies, they were free from the domination of the barbarians, they were untroubled by internal factions. and they were at peace with all the world.

On account of these services it becomes all think-

[e] A democratic government. *Cf. Panath.* 54 ff.

[f] A round number. So [Lysias], *Epitaph.* 55. Demosthenes reckons the period of supremacy more accurately at 73 years, 477–404. In *Panath.* 56 Isocrates reckons it at 65 years—roughly from the Confederacy of Delos to the Athenian disaster in Sicily, which was really the beginning of the end of the Athenian supremacy.

χάριν ἔχειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κληρουχίας ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζειν, ἃς ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰς ἐρημουμένας τῶν πόλεων φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῶν χωρίων, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐξεπέμπομεν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτων· ἔχοντες γὰρ χώραν μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαχίστην, ἀρχὴν δὲ μεγίστην, καὶ κεκτημένοι τριήρεις διπλασίας μὲν ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, δυναμένας δὲ πρὸς δὶς τοσαύτας κινδυνεύειν,
108 ὑποκειμένης τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἣ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης εὐφυῶς εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἁπασῶν τῶν νήσων διέφερε, κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰδότες καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτους μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦντας, οἳ τοὺς ὁμόρους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες ἄφθονον καὶ ῥᾴθυμον αὑτοῖς κατεστήσαντο τὸν βίον, ὅμως οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆρε περὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν νῆσον
109 ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοι δὴ τῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν λαβόντων περιείδομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορωτέρως ζῶντας τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων. καίτοι βουλόμενοι πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἂν δή που τῆς μὲν Σκιωναίων γῆς ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, ἣν Πλαταιέων τοῖς

[a] Allotments of lands to Athenian colonists in Greek territory, as in Scione and Melos. See note on 101. For these "cleruchies," as they were called, see Gardner and Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, pp. 602 ff.

[b] The total population including foreign residents and slaves is reckoned at about 500,000; the total area is about 700 square miles.

ing men to be deeply grateful to us, much rather than to reproach us because of our system of colonization;[a] for we sent our colonies into the depopulated states for the protection of their territories and not for our own aggrandizement. And here is proof of this: We had in proportion to the number of our citizens a very small territory,[b] but a very great empire; we possessed twice as many ships of war as all the rest combined,[c] and these were strong enough to engage double their number; at the very borders of Attica lay Euboea, which was not only fitted by her situation to command the sea, but also surpassed all the islands in her general resources,[d] and Euboea lent itself more readily to our control than did our own country; besides, while we knew that both among the Hellenes and among the barbarians those are regarded most highly who have driven their neighbours from their homes[e] and have so secured for themselves a life of affluence and ease, nevertheless, none of these considerations tempted us to wrong the people of the island; on the contrary, we alone of those who have obtained great power suffered ourselves to live in more straitened circumstances than those who were reproached with being our slaves.[f] And yet, had we been disposed to seek our own advantage, we should not, I imagine, have set our hearts on the territory of Scione (which, as all the world knows,

[c] See Thuc. ii. 13 and viii. 79.

[d] Herodotus characterizes Euboea as a "large and prosperous" island, v. 31. *Cf.* Thuc. viii. 96.

[e] This cynical remark points to the Spartan conquest of Messene.

[f] Probably a taunt flung at the Euboeans and all who were under the protection and influence of Athens.

ὡς ἡμᾶς καταφυγοῦσι φαινόμεθα παραδόντες, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν παρελίπομεν, ἣ πάντας ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν.

110 Τοιούτων τοίνυν ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν δεδωκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν, τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαδαρχιῶν κοινωνήσαντες καὶ τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμηνάμενοι καὶ μικρὰς μὲν ποιήσαντες δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀδικίας, οὐδεμίαν δὲ λιπόντες ὑπερβολὴν τοῖς αὖθις βουλομένοις γενέσθαι πονηροῖς, ἀλλὰ φάσκοντες μὲν λακωνίζειν, τἀναντία δ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδεύοντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν Μηλίων ὀδυρόμενοι συμφοράς, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὑτῶν πολίτας ἀνήκεστα τολμήσαντες ἐξαμαρτεῖν.
111 ποῖον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα διέφυγεν; ἢ τί τῶν
[64] αἰσχρῶν ἢ δεινῶν οὐ διεξῆλθον; οἳ τοὺς μὲν ἀνομωτάτους πιστοτάτους ἐνόμιζον, τοὺς δὲ προδότας ὥσπερ εὐεργέτας ἐθεράπευον, ᾑροῦντο δὲ τῶν Εἱλώτων ἑνὶ[1] δουλεύειν ὥστ' εἰς τὰς αὑτῶν πατρίδας ὑβρίζειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτίμων τοὺς αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τοὺς γονέας τοὺς
112 αὑτῶν, εἰς τοῦτο δ' ὠμότητος ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς

[1] ἑνὶ Γ : ἐνίοις ΘΛ.

[a] When their city was destroyed in the Peloponnesian War, 427 B.C., the Plataeans took refuge in Athens and were later settled in Scione. At the close of the war they were forced to leave Scione and again found refuge in Athens. By the Peace of Antalcidas they were restored to their own territory only to be driven from their homes by the Thebans in 372 B.C. Once more Athens became their refuge. See *Plataicus* 13 ff.

[b] In Athens and in other states under her influence there was in the oligarchical party a group of Spartan sympathizers who out-Spartaned the Spartans. After the

we gave over to our Plataean refugees),[a] and passed over this great territory which would have enriched us all.

Now although we have shown ourselves to be of such character and have given so convincing proof that we do not covet the possessions of others, we are brazenly denounced by those who had a hand in the decarchies[b]—men who have befouled their own countries, who have made the crimes of the past seem insignificant, and have left the would-be scoundrels of the future no chance to exceed their villainy; and who, for all that, profess to follow the ways of Lacedaemon, when they practise the very opposite, and bewail the disasters of the Melians, when they have shamelessly inflicted irreparable wrongs upon their own citizens. For what crime have they overlooked? What act of shame or outrage is wanting in their careers? They regarded the most lawless of men as the most loyal; they courted traitors as if they were benefactors; they chose to be slaves to one of the Helots[c] so that they might oppress their own countries; they honoured the assassins and murderers of their fellow-citizens more than their own parents; and to such a stage of brutishness did they bring us all that, whereas in

downfall of Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian War, when Sparta became the supreme power in Greece, 404 B.C., governing commissions of ten ("decarchies"), composed of these extremists, with a Spartan harmost and garrison to support them, were set up in most of these states by the Spartan general Lysander (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 2). In Athens the "decarchy" succeeded the rule of the thirty tyrants. Compare what Isocrates says here about the decarchies with *Phil.* 95 and *Panath.* 54.

[c] The reference is to Lysander, who on his mother's side was of Helot blood. The Helots were serfs of the Spartans.

κατέστησαν, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ μὲν διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀτυχίαις πολλοὺς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἔχειν τοὺς συμπενθήσοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ἐπαυσάμεθ' ἀλλήλους ἐλεοῦντες. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τοσαύτην σχολὴν παρέλιπον ὥσθ' ἑτέρῳ συν-
113 αχθεσθῆναι. τίνος γὰρ οὐκ ἐφίκοντο; ἢ τίς οὕτω πόρρω τῶν πολιτικῶν ἦν πραγμάτων, ὅστις οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἠναγκάσθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, εἰς ἃς αἱ τοιαῦται φύσεις ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν; εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις οὕτως ἀνόμως διαθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδίκως κατηγοροῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν δικῶν καὶ τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων λέγειν τολμῶσιν, αὐτοὶ πλείους ἐν τρισὶ μησὶν ἀκρίτους ἀποκτείναντες ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης
114 ἔκρινεν. φυγὰς δὲ καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόμων συγχύσεις καὶ πολιτειῶν μεταβολάς, ἔτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρεις καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύνας καὶ χρημάτων ἁρπαγάς, τίς ἂν δύναιτο διεξελθεῖν; πλὴν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχω καθ' ἁπάντων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν δεινὰ ῥᾳδίως ἄν τις ἑνὶ ψηφίσματι διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων γενομένας οὐδεὶς ἂν ἰάσασθαι δύναιτο.

115 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν παροῦσαν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτονομίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις μὲν οὐκ ἐνοῦσαν

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[a] In Athens 1500, according to *Areop.* 67; *Against Lochites*, 11.

[b] Such a decree of the Ecclesia as was passed in 378 B.C., when the new confederacy was formed, absolving the allies

former times, because of the prosperity which prevailed, every one of us found many to sympathize with him even in trifling reverses, yet under the rule of these men, because of the multitude of our own calamities, we ceased feeling pity for each other, since there was no man to whom they allowed enough of respite so that he could share another's burdens. For what man dwelt beyond their reach? What man was so far removed from public life that he was not forced into close touch with the disasters into which such creatures plunged us? But in the face of all this, these men, who brought their own cities to such a pitch of anarchy, do not blush to make unjust charges against our city; nay, to crown their other effronteries, they even have the audacity to talk of the private and public suits which were once tried in Athens, when they themselves put to death without trial more men [a] in the space of three months than Athens tried during the whole period of her supremacy. And of their banishments, their civil strife, their subversion of laws, their political revolutions, their atrocities upon children, their insults to women, their pillage of estates, who could tell the tale? I can only say this much of the whole business — the severities under our administration could have been readily brought to an end by a single vote of the people,[b] while the murders and acts of violence under their regime are beyond any power to remedy.

And, furthermore, not even the present peace, nor yet that "autonomy" which is inscribed in the

from paying tribute and from the practice of trying their cases in Athens. These had been the causes of friction. See *Panath.* 63.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀναγεγραμμένην, ἄξιον ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν. τίς γὰρ ἂν τοιαύτης καταστάσεως ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἐν ᾗ καταποντισταὶ μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέχουσι, πελ-
116 τασταὶ δὲ τὰς πόλεις καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἑτέρους περὶ τῆς χώρας πολεμεῖν ἐντὸς τείχους οἱ πολῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχονται,
[65] πλείους δὲ πόλεις αἰχμάλωτοι γεγόνασιν ἢ πρὶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμᾶς ποιήσασθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν μεταβολῶν ἀθυμοτέρως διάγουσιν οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τῶν ταῖς φυγαῖς ἐζημιωμένων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δεδίασιν, οἱ δ' ἀεὶ κατιέναι
117 προσδοκῶσιν. τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὥσθ' αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τυράννοις εἰσί, τὰς δ' ἁρμοσταὶ κατέχουσιν, ἔνιαι δ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι, τῶν δ' οἱ βάρβαροι δεσπόται καθεστήκασιν· οὓς ἡμεῖς διαβῆναι τολμήσαντας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μεῖζον ἢ προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς φρονή-
118 σαντας οὕτω διέθεμεν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παύσασθαι στρατείας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν χώραν ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην, καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ χιλίαις ναυσὶ περιπλέοντας εἰς τοσαύτην ταπεινότητα κατεστήσαμεν, ὥστε μακρὸν

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[a] Above all, the Treaty or Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. *Cf.* 120 ff. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1. 31, quotes from this treaty: "King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomene and Cyprus, shall belong to him. He thinks it just also to leave all the other cities autonomous, both small and great—except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which are to belong to Athens, as they did originally. Should any parties refuse to accept this peace, I will make war upon them, along with those who are of the same mind, by land as well as by sea, with ships and with money"

treaties [a] but is not found in our governments, is preferable to the rule of Athens. For who would desire a condition of things where pirates command the seas [b] and mercenaries occupy our cities; [c] where fellow-countrymen, instead of waging war in defence of their territories against strangers, are fighting within their own walls [d] against each other; where more cities have been captured in war [e] than before we made the peace; and where revolutions follow so thickly upon each other that those who are at home in their own countries are more dejected than those who have been punished with exile? For the former are in dread of what is to come, while the latter live ever in the hope of their return. And so far are the states removed from "freedom" and "autonomy" [f] that some of them are ruled by tyrants, some are controlled by alien governors, some have been sacked and razed, [g] and some have become slaves to the barbarians—the same barbarians whom we once so chastened for their temerity in crossing over into Europe, and for their overweening pride, that they not only ceased from making expeditions against us, but even endured to see their own territory laid waste; [h] and we brought their power so low, for all that they had once sailed the sea with twelve hundred ships, that they launched no ship of

(Trans. by Grote, *Hist.* ix. p. 212). See General Introd. p. xliii, and introduction to *Panegyricus*.

[b] In the absence of the Athenian fleet.

[c] See 168, and introduction.

[d] *Cf.* Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 1.

[e] *Cf. Panath.* 97.

[f] Freedom and autonomy—a single idea; see General Introd. p. xxxii; *Plataicus*, 24; *Epist.* viii. 7.

[g] See 126.

[h] Allusion is to the victory of Conon at the Eurymedon, 466 B.C.

πλοῖον ἐπὶ τάδε Φασήλιδος μὴ καθέλκειν, ἀλλ'
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ
μὴ τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει πιστεύειν.

119 Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμε-
τέρων ἀρετὴν οὕτως εἶχεν, αἱ τῆς πόλεως συμ-
φοραὶ σαφῶς ἐπέδειξαν· ἅμα γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε τῆς
ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερούμεθα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀρχὴ τῶν
κακῶν ἐγίγνετο. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
γενομένην ἀτυχίαν ἑτέρων ἡγεμόνων καταστάντων
ἐνίκησαν μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἦρξαν
δὲ τῆς θαλάττης, κατέσχον δὲ τὰς πλείστας τῶν
νήσων, ἀπέβησαν δ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, Κύθηρα
δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἷλον, ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόν-
νησον κακῶς ποιοῦντες περιέπλευσαν.

120 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις συνίδοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μετα-
βολῆς, εἰ παραναγνοίη τὰς συνθήκας τάς τ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν
γενομένας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἀναγεγραμμένας. τότε μὲν
γὰρ ἡμεῖς φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλέως
ὁρίζοντες καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐνίους τάττοντες καὶ κω-
λύοντες αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι· νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνός
ἐστιν ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάττων
ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἑκάστους, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιστάθμους
121 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς. πλὴν γὰρ τούτου τί
τῶν ἄλλων ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν; οὐ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου
[66] κύριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπρυτάνευσε, καὶ
τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτης καθέστηκεν;
οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνον πλέομεν ὥσπερ πρὸς δεσπότην,

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[a] *Cf. Areop.* 80. There appears to have been a definite treaty setting bounds beyond which neither the sea nor land forces of Persia might go: see 120 and *Panath.* 59-61; also Dem. *False Legation* 273; Lycurgus, *Against Leocr.* 73. This was the so-called Treaty of Callias: see Grote, *Hist.* v. pp. 192 ff.

war this side of Phaselis [a] but remained inactive and waited on more favourable times rather than trust in the forces which they then possessed.

And that this state of affairs was due to the valour of our ancestors has been clearly shown in the fortunes of our city; for the very moment when we were deprived of our dominion marked the beginning of a dominion [b] of ills for the Hellenes. In fact, after the disaster which befell us in the Hellespont,[c] when our rivals took our place as leaders, the barbarians won a naval victory,[d] became rulers of the sea, occupied most of the islands,[e] made a landing in Laconia, took Cythera by storm, and sailed around the whole Peloponnesus, inflicting damage as they went.

One may best comprehend how great is the reversal in our circumstances if he will read side by side the treaties [f] which were made during our leadership and those which have been published recently; for he will find that in those days we were constantly setting limits to the empire of the King,[g] levying tribute on some of his subjects, and barring him from the sea; now, however, it is he who controls the destinies of the Hellenes, who dictates [h] what they must each do, and who all but sets up his viceroys in their cities. For with this one exception, what else is lacking? Was it not he who decided the issue of the war, was it not he who directed the terms of peace, and is it not he who now presides over our affairs? Do we not sail off to him as to a master, when we have

[b] For this play of words—ἀρχή, "beginning," and ἀρχή, "dominion"—*cf. Nicocles* 28, *Peace* 101, *Phil.* 61.

[c] Battle of Aegospotami 405 B.C.

[d] At the battle of Cnidus, but with the help of Conon.

[e] See Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 7.

[f] See 115 and note.

[g] *Cf.* 118 and note.

[h] *Cf.* 175; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 9.

ἀλλήλων κατηγορήσοντες; οὐ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν, ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες; οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας, ὃς ἀμφοτέρους ἡμᾶς ἡδέως ἂν ἀπολέσειεν;

122 Ὧν ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθέντας ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, ποθέσαι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, μέμψασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῆς οὕτω πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδότους ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας πόλεως τοὺς Ἴωνας ἀπέστησαν, ἐξ ἧς ἀπῴκησαν καὶ δι᾽ ἣν πολλάκις ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐξέδοσαν, ὧν ἀκόντων τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲ πώποτ᾽ ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες.

123 Καὶ τότε μὲν ἠγανάκτουν, ὅθ᾽ ἡμεῖς νομίμως ἐπάρχειν τινῶν ἠξιοῦμεν· νῦν δ᾽ εἰς τοιαύτην δουλείαν καθεστώτων οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν αὐτῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ δασμολογεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατεχομένας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀργυρωνήτων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὕτως αἰκίζεται τοὺς οἰκέτας,
124 ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους κολάζουσιν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς δουλείας ἀναγ-

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[a] The Peloponnesian War.

[b] See words of Brasidas in Thuc. iv. 85.

[c] By the Treaty of Antalcidas, negotiated by Sparta, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands were given over to Persia (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 31).

[d] As, for example, over the Ionian cities.

complaints against each other? Do we not address him as "The Great King" as though we were the captives of his spear? Do we not in our wars against each other rest our hopes of salvation on him, who would gladly destroy both Athens and Lacedaemon?

Reflecting on these things, we may well be indignant at the present state of affairs, and yearn for our lost supremacy; and we may well blame the Lacedaemonians because, although in the beginning they entered upon the war [a] with the avowed intention [b] of freeing the Hellenes, in the end they delivered so many of them into bondage, and because they induced the Ionians to revolt from Athens, the mother city from which the Ionians emigrated and by whose influence they were often preserved from destruction, and then betrayed them [c] to the barbarians—those barbarians in despite of whom they possess their lands and against whom they have never ceased to war.

At that time the Lacedaemonians were indignant because we thought it right by legitimate means to extend our dominion over certain peoples.[d] Now, however, they feel no concern, when these peoples are reduced to such abject servitude that it is not enough that they should be forced to pay tribute and see their citadels occupied by their foes, but, in addition to these public calamities, must also in their own persons submit to greater indignities than those which are suffered in our world by purchased slaves [e]; for none of us is so cruel to his servants as are the barbarians in punishing free men. But the crowning misery is that they are compelled to take the field

[e] Slaves by purchase were in worse case than slaves by capture in battle.

κάζωνται συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, καὶ τοιούτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, ἐν οἷς ἡττηθέντες μὲν παραχρῆμα διαφθαρήσονται, κατορθώσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον δουλεύσουσιν.

125 Ὧν τίνας ἄλλους αἰτίους χρὴ νομίζειν ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, οἳ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες περιορῶσι τοὺς μὲν αὑτῶν συμμάχους γενομένους οὕτω δεινὰ πάσχοντας, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥώμῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὑτοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον; καὶ πρότερον μὲν τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλον, τῷ
[67] δὲ πλήθει τὰς βοηθείας ἐποιοῦντο, νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταβεβλήκασιν, ὥστε ταῖς μὲν πολιτείαις
126 πολεμοῦσι, τὰς δὲ μοναρχίας συγκαθιστᾶσι. τὴν μέν γε Μαντινέων πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμείαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντᾳ δὲ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυράννῳ καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας κρατοῦντι συμπράττουσιν ὅπως ὡς
127 μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἕξουσιν. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕνα μὲν ἄνδρα τοσούτων ἀνθρώπων καθιστάναι δεσπότην, ὧν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξευρεῖν ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι, τὰς δὲ

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[a] The Ionian cities were forced to fight with the Persians against Cyprus. See 134.

[b] In 383 B.C. *Cf. Peace* 100; Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 7.

[c] In the same year. See Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 25. The Cadmea was the citadel of Thebes.

[d] This helps in dating the *Panegyricus*.

[e] The siege of Olynthus was begun in 382 B.C. See Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 11. The siege of Phlius was begun in 380 B.C. See Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 8.

with the enemy [a] in the very cause of slavery and to fight against men who assert their right to freedom, and to submit to hazards of war on such terms that in case of defeat they will be destroyed at once, and in case of victory they will strengthen the chains of their bondage for all time to come.

For these evils, who else, can we think, is to blame but the Lacedaemonians, seeing that they have so great power, yet look on with indifference while those who have placed themselves under the Lacedaemonian alliance are visited with such outrages, and while the barbarian builds up his own empire by means of the strength of the Hellenes? In former days, it is true, they used to expel tyrants and bring succour to the people, but now they have so far reversed their policy that they make war on responsible governments and aid in establishing absolute monarchies; they sacked and razed the city of Mantinea,[b] after peace had been concluded; they seized the Cadmea [c] in Thebes; and now [d] they are laying siege to Olynthus and Phlius: [e] on the other hand, they are assisting Amyntas, king of the Macedonians,[f] and Dionysius,[g] the tyrant of Sicily, and the barbarian king who rules over Asia,[h] to extend their dominions far and wide. And yet is it not extraordinary that those who stand at the head of the Hellenes should set up one man as master over a host of human beings so great that it is not easy to ascertain even their numbers, while

[f] Amyntas, the father of Philip, was aided by the Spartans against Olynthus 383 B.C. See *Archid.* 46 and *Phil.* 106.

[g] For the sympathy between Sparta and Dionysius see *Peace* 99, *Archid.* 63.

[h] By the Peace of Antalcidas.

μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων μηδ᾽ αὐτὰς αὐτῶν ἐᾶν εἶναι
κυρίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναγκάζειν δουλεύειν ἢ ταῖς μεγί-
128 σταις συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν; ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινό-
τατον, ὅταν τις ἴδῃ τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν
ἀξιοῦντας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καθ᾽ ἑκάστην
τὴν ἡμέραν στρατευομένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον συμμαχίαν πεποιη-
μένους.

129 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν, ὅτι τρα-
χύτερον τούτων ἐμνήσθην, προειπὼν ὡς περὶ διαλ-
λαγῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα πρὸς
τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλω τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαι-
μονίων οὕτως εἴρηκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ αὐτοὺς
ἐκείνους παύσω, καθ᾽ ὅσον ὁ λόγος δύναται, τοιαύ-
130 την ἔχοντας τὴν γνώμην. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οἷόντ᾽
ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐδ᾽ ἑτέρων πρά-
ξεων πείθειν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢν μή τις ἐρρωμένως
ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς παροῦσιν· χρὴ δὲ κατηγορεῖν μὲν
ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας, νου-
θετεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ λοιδοροῦντας. τὸν γὰρ
αὐτὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ, μὴ
131 μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας λεγόμενον. ἐπεὶ καὶ
τοῦτ᾽ ἔχομεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὑτῶν
πόλει τοὺς ὁμόρους εἱλωτεύειν ἀναγκάζουσι, τῷ
δὲ κοινῷ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον κατα-
σκευάζουσιν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλυ-
σαμένοις ἅπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους περιοίκους ὅλης
132 τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταστῆσαι. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φύσει

[a] *Cf. Peace* 72.

[b] In his second letter to Philip, 5, Isocrates urges him to make all the barbarians, excepting those who join forces with him, serfs of the Hellenes.

they do not permit the very greatest of our cities to govern even themselves, but try to compel them to submit to slavery or else involve them in the greatest disasters? But most monstrous of all it is to see a people who arrogate to themselves the right of leadership making war every day upon the Hellenes and committed for all time to an alliance with the barbarians.

And let no one suppose that I am ill-natured, because I have recalled these facts to you in rather harsh terms, after having stated at the outset that I intended to speak on conciliation; for it is not with the intention of stigmatizing the city of the Lacedaemonians in the eyes of others that I have spoken as I have about them, but that I may induce the Lacedaemonians themselves, so far as it lies in the power of words to do so, to make an end of such a policy. It is not, however, possible to turn men from their errors, or to inspire in them the desire for a different course of action without first roundly condemning their present conduct; and a distinction must be made between accusation, when one denounces with intent to injure, and admonition,[a] when one uses like words with intent to benefit; for the same words are not to be interpreted in the same way unless they are spoken in the same spirit. For we have reason to reproach the Lacedaemonians for this also, that in the interest of their own city they compel their neighbours to live in serfdom,[b] but for the common advantage of their allies they refuse to bring about a similar condition, although it lies in their power to make up their quarrel with us and reduce all the barbarians to a state of subjection to the whole of Hellas. And yet

[68] καὶ μὴ διὰ τύχην μέγα φρονοῦντας τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νησιώτας δασμολογεῖν, οὓς ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐλεεῖν, ὁρῶντας τούτους μὲν διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ὄρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους, τοὺς δ' ἠπειρώτας δι' ἀφθονίαν τῆς χώρας τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς ἀργὸν περιορῶντας, ἐξ ἧς δὲ καρποῦνται τοσοῦτον πλοῦτον κεκτημένους.

133 Ἡγοῦμαι δ', εἴ τινες ἄλλοθεν ἐπελθόντες θεαταὶ γένοιντο τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, πολλὴν ἂν αὐτοὺς καταγνῶναι μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν, οἵτινες οὕτω περὶ μικρῶν κινδυνεύομεν, ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν χώραν διαφθείρομεν, ἀμελήσαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν καρποῦσθαι.

134 καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν προὐργιαίτερόν ἐστιν ἢ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὧν μηδέποτε παυσόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσούτου δέομεν συγκρούειν τι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἢ ποιεῖν στασιάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς διὰ τύχην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας ταραχὰς συνδιαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, οἵτινες καὶ τοῖν στρατοπέδοιν τοῖν περὶ Κύπρον ἐῶμεν αὐτὸν τῷ μὲν χρῆσθαι τὸ δὲ πολιορκεῖν, ἀμφοτέροιν αὐτοῖν τῆς

135 Ἑλλάδος ὄντοιν. οἵ τε γὰρ ἀφεστῶτες πρὸς ἡμᾶς τ' οἰκείως ἔχουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδόασιν, τῶν τε μετὰ Τειριβάζου στρατευομένων

[a] For tribute levied by Sparta see Xen. *Hell.* vi. 2. 16.

[b] The Cyclades, hilly and comparatively barren.

[c] The "mainlanders"—Persian subjects in Asia Minor.

[d] Reference is to the ten years' war between Artaxerxes and Evagoras, king of Salamis. For Evagoras see introduction to the *Address to Nicocles*, and for the war see *Evagoras* 64 ff.

[e] The armament of Tiribazus, composed largely of an army of Greek mercenaries and a navy drawn from Ionian Greeks.

[f] That of Evagoras.

it is the duty of men who are proud because of natural gifts and not merely because of fortune to undertake such deeds much rather than to levy tribute [a] on the islanders,[b] who are deserving of their pity, seeing that because of the scarcity of land they are compelled to till mountains, while the people of the mainland,[c] because of the abundance of their territory, allow most of it to lie waste, and have, nevertheless, from that part of it which they do harvest, grown immensely rich.

It is my opinion that if anyone should come here from another part of the world and behold the spectacle of the present state of our affairs, he would charge both the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians with utter madness, not only because we risk our lives fighting as we do over trifles when we might enjoy in security a wealth of possessions, but also because we continually impoverish our own territory while neglecting to exploit that of Asia. As for the barbarian, nothing is more to his purpose than to take measures to prevent us from ever ceasing to make war upon each other; while we, on the contrary, are so far from doing anything to embroil his interests or foment rebellion among his subjects that when, thanks to fortune, dissensions do break out in his empire we actually lend him a hand in putting them down. Even now, when the two armies are fighting in Cyprus,[d] we permit him to make use of the one [e] and to besiege the other,[f] although both of them belong to Hellas; for the Cyprians, who are in revolt against him, are not only on friendly terms with us [g] but are also seeking the protection of the Lacedaemonians; and as to the forces which are led

[g] See *Evag.* 53-54; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 24.

καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ χρησιμώτατον ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων ἤθροισται, καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπ' Ἰωνίας συμπέπλευκεν, οἳ πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον κοινῇ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπόρθουν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕνεκα
136 μικρῶν ἐκινδύνευον. ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, τοσαύτας δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας τὸ μέγεθος δυνάμεις οὕτως εἰκῇ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παραδεδώκαμεν. τοιγαροῦν τὰ μὲν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μέλλει, τοῖς δ' ἐπιβουλεύει, δικαίως ἁπάντων
137 ἡμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς. διαπέπρακται γὰρ ὃ τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων οὐδεὶς πώποτε· τήν τε γὰρ Ἀσίαν διωμολόγηται καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως εἶναι, τάς τε πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας οὕτω κυρίως παρείληφεν, ὥστε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν κατασκάπτειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίζειν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γέγονε διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄνοιαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν.

[69] 138 Καίτοι τινὲς θαυμάζουσι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, καί φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι δυσπολέμητον, διεξιόντες ὡς πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πεποίηκεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας οὐκ ἀποτρέπειν ἀλλ' ἐπισπεύδειν τὴν στρατείαν· εἰ γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁμονοησάντων αὐτὸς ἐν ταραχαῖς ὢν χαλεπὸς ἔσται προσπολεμεῖν, ἦ που σφόδρα χρὴ δεδιέναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον, ὅταν τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων καταστῇ καὶ διὰ μιᾶς γένηται γνώμης, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ

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[a] Greeks who sold their services as mercenary troops because of poverty at home. See 168 and note.

[b] *Cf.* Dem. *Olynth.* ii. 22.

by Tiribazus, the most effective troops of his infantry have been levied from these parts,[a] and most of his fleet has been brought together from Ionia; and all these would much more gladly make common cause and plunder Asia than risk their lives fighting against each other over trifling issues. But these things we take no thought to prevent; instead, we wrangle about the islands of the Cyclades, when we have so recklessly given over so many cities and such great forces to the barbarians. And therefore some of our possessions are now his, some will soon be his, and others are threatened by his treacherous designs. And he has rightly conceived an utter contempt for us all; for he has attained what no one of his ancestors ever did: Asia has been conceded both by us and by the Lacedaemonians to belong to the King; and as for the cities of the Hellenes, he has taken them so absolutely under his control that he either razes them to the ground or builds his fortresses within them. And all this has come about by reason of our own folly, not because of his power.

And yet there are those who stand in awe of the greatness of the King's power and maintain that he is a dangerous enemy,[b] dwelling at length on the many reversals which he has brought about in the affairs of the Hellenes. In my judgement, however, those who express such sentiments do not discourage but urge on the expedition; for if he is going to be hard to make war against when we have composed our differences and while he, himself, is still beset by dissensions, then verily we should be in utmost dread of that time when the conflicting interests of the barbarians are settled and are governed by a single purpose, while we continue to be, as now, hostile to

139 νῦν πολεμικῶς ἔχωμεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ συναγορεύουσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, οὐδ' ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως γιγνώσκουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέφαινον αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖν πολέοιν ἀμφοτέροιν πρότερόν ποτε περιγεγενημένον, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν ἐκφοβεῖν ἐπεχείρουν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ γέγονεν, ἀντιπάλων δ' ὄντων ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσθέμενος τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ πράγματα θάτερ' ἐποίησεν, οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο σημεῖον τῆς ἐκείνου ῥώμης. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς πολλάκις μικραὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας τὰς ῥοπὰς ἐποίησαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ Χίων ἔχοιμ' ἂν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὁποτέροις ἐκεῖνοι προσθέσθαι βουληθεῖεν, οὗτοι κατὰ θάλατταν κρείτ-
140 τους ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δίκαιόν ἐστι σκοπεῖν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἑκατέρων γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ πεπολέμηκεν.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου τί διαπέπρακται πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν; οὐκ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον κατέπεμψε τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους Περσῶν, Ἀβροκόμαν καὶ Τιθραύστην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον, οὗτοι δὲ τρί' ἔτη μείναντες, καὶ πλείω κακὰ παθόντες ἢ ποιήσαντες, τελευτῶντες οὕτως αἰσχρῶς ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλ'
141 ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ζητεῖν ἐπάρχειν; μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεύσας, ὃς ἄρχει μὲν

[a] *Cf.* Dem. *Olynth.* ii. 14.

[b] Chios revolted from Athens and joined Sparta after the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. viii. 7). After the battle of Cnidus she joined Athens again (Diod. xiv. 84, 94).

each other. But even though these objectors do in fact lend support to my contention, yet, for all that, they are mistaken in their views about the power of the King; for if they could show that he had ever in the past prevailed over both Athens and Lacedaemon at once, they would have reason for attempting to alarm us now. But if this is not the case, and the truth is that when we and the Lacedaemonians have been in conflict he has but given support to one of the two sides and so rendered the achievements of that one side more brilliant, this is no evidence of his own power. For in such times of crisis small forces have often played a great part in turning the scale;[a] for example, even for the people of Chios[b] I might make the claim that whichever side they have been inclined to support, that side has proved stronger on the sea. Nay, it is obviously not fair to estimate the power of the King from those exploits in which he has joined forces with the one or the other of us, but rather from the wars which he, unaided, has fought on his own behalf.

Take, first, the case of Egypt: since its revolt from the King, what progress has he made against its inhabitants? Did he not dispatch to this war[c] the most renowned of the Persians, Abrocomas and Tithraustes and Pharnabazus, and did not they, after remaining there three years and suffering more disasters than they inflicted, finally withdraw in such disgrace that the rebels are no longer content with their freedom, but are already trying to extend their dominion over the neighbouring peoples as well? Next, there is his campaign against Evagoras. Evagoras is ruler over but a single city[d]; he is

[c] Isocrates alone is authority for this war. [d] Salamis.

μιᾶς πόλεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἔκδοτός ἐστιν,
οἰκῶν δὲ νῆσον κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν προδεδυστύ-
χηκεν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς χώρας τρισχιλίους ἔχει μόνον
[70] πελταστάς, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως
οὐ δύναται περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν, ἀλλ'
ἤδη μὲν ἓξ ἔτη διατέτριφεν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα
τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, πολὺ πλείων ἐλπίς
ἐστιν ἕτερον ἀποστῆναι πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐκπολιορκη-
θῆναι· τοιαῦται βραδυτῆτες ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς
142 βασιλέως ἔνεισιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ
Ῥόδον ἔχων μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους
εὔνους διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν πολιτειῶν, χρώ-
μενος δὲ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, στρατη-
γοῦντος δ' αὐτῷ Κόνωνος, ὃς ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος
μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν,
ἐμπειρότατος δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων,
τοιοῦτον λαβὼν συναγωνιστὴν τρία μὲν ἔτη
περιεῖδε τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ προκινδυνεῦον ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἀσίας ὑπὸ τριήρων ἑκατὸν μόνων πολιορκούμενον,
πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μηνῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν
μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησεν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ
πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα[1]
καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστᾶσαν
143 μόλις ναυμαχοῦντες ἐνίκησαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ
τὰ βασιλικώτατα καὶ σεμνότατα τῶν ἐκείνῳ
πεπραγμένων, καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέποτε παύονται

[1] *τὸν ἐφεστῶτα* Γ_1: *τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον* MSS.

[a] See terms of Treaty of Antalcidas given in note on 115.
[b] The war between Persia and Sparta which ended with the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C. Conon, after the battle of Aegospotami in which he had been one of the generals, took service with the Persians, and was the captain of the fleet in this battle.
[c] Conon.

given over to the Persians by the terms of the Treaty [a]; his is an insular power and he has already sustained a disaster to his fleet; he has, at present, for the defence of his territory only three thousand light-armed troops; yet, humble as is the power of Evagoras, the King has not the power to conquer it in war, but has already frittered away six years in the attempt; and, if we may conjecture the future by the past, there is much more likelihood that someone else will rise in revolt before Evagoras is reduced by the siege—so slothful is the King in his enterprises. Again, in the Rhodian War,[b] the King had the good will of the allies of Lacedaemon because of the harshness with which they were governed, he availed himself of the help of our seamen; and at the head of his forces was Conon, who was the most competent of our generals, who possessed more than any other the confidence of the Hellenes, and who was the most experienced in the hazards of war; yet, although the King had such a champion to help him in the war, he suffered the fleet which bore the brunt of the defence of Asia to be bottled up for three years by only an hundred ships, and for fifteen months he deprived the soldiers of their pay; and the result would have been, had it depended upon the King alone, that they would have been disbanded more than once; but, thanks to their commander [c] and to the alliance which was formed at Corinth,[d] they barely succeeded in winning a naval victory. And these were the most royal and the most imposing of his achievements, and these are the deeds about which people are never weary

[d] The alliance of Argos, Thebes, Athens, Euboea, Corinth, and Sparta, formed at Corinth (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 1).

λέγοντες οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων μεγάλα ποιεῖν.

Ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ δικαίως χρῶμαι τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς διατρίβω τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παραλείπων·
144 φεύγων γὰρ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων διῆλθον, οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν οὐδ' ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δερκυλίδας μὲν χιλίους ἔχων ὁπλίτας τῆς Αἰολίδος ἐπῆρχε, Δράκων δὲ Ἀταρνέα καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδίον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε, Θίβρων δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους τούτων διαβιβάσας τὴν Λυδίαν ἅπασαν ἐπόρθησεν, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ Κυρείῳ στρατεύματι χρώμενος μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς ἐντὸς Ἅλυος χώρας ἐκράτησεν.

145 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπολοῦσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φανερῶς ἐπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Κύρῳ συναναβάντων οὐδὲν βελ-
[71] τίους ὄντες τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας μάχας ὅσας ἡττήθησαν ἐῶ, καὶ τίθημι στασιάζειν

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[a] Succeeded Thimbron as commander of the Spartan fleet, 399 B.C. He is said to have taken nine cities in eight days (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 1).

[b] Appointed harmost of Atarneus by Dercylidas, 398 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 11).

[c] Admiral of Spartan fleet 400 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 4).

[d] The campaign of Agesilaus occurred in 395 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 20).

[e] Contemptuous, recalling Arist. *Acharnians* 81.

[f] The famous "ten thousand" led by Clearchus, a Spartan, were employed by Cyrus, the younger son of Dareius, against his brother Artaxerxes, the Persian king, 401–399. The death of Cyrus, due to his rashness in the very moment of victory, deprived the rebellion of its leader and left the

of speaking who are fain to exalt the power of the barbarians!

So no one can say that I am not fair in my use of instances, nor that I dwell upon the minor undertakings of the King and pass over the most important; for I have striven to forestall just such a complaint, and have recounted the most glorious of his exploits. I do not, however, forget his minor campaigns; I do not forget that Dercylidas,[a] with a thousand heavy-armed troops, extended his power over Aeolis; that Draco [b] took possession of Atarneus, and afterwards collected an army of three thousand light-armed men, and devastated the plains of Mysia; that Thimbron,[c] with a force only a little larger, crossed over into Lydia and plundered the whole country; and that Agesilaus, with the help of the army of Cyrus, conquered almost all the territory this side of the Halys river.[d]

And assuredly we have no greater reason to fear the army which wanders about[e] with the King nor the valour of the Persians themselves; for they were clearly shown by the troops who marched inland[f] with Cyrus to be no better than the King's soldiers who live on the coast. I refrain from speaking of all the other battles in which the Persians were worsted, and I am willing to grant that they were split with

Greek army stranded in the heart of Asia. Xenophon, who has described this expedition in the *Anabasis*, led the remnant of this army after many months of hardship back to the shore of the Black Sea. See Grote, *Hist.* viii. pp. 303 ff. The expedition, though unsuccessful in its purpose, was regarded as a triumph of courage and a demonstration of the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians in warfare. The episode is used in *Phil.* 90-93 with the same point as here.

αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι προθύμως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελ-
146 φὸν τὸν βασιλέως διακινδυνεύειν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Κύρου τελευτήσαντος συνῆλθον ἅπαντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς οὕτως αἰσχρῶς ἐπολέμησαν, ὥστε μηδένα λόγον ὑπολιπεῖν τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἐπαινεῖν. λαβόντες γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἳ διὰ φαυλότητα ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν ζῆν, ἀπείρους μὲν τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐρήμους δὲ συμμάχων γεγενημένους, προδεδομένους δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συναναβάντων, ἀπεστερημένους δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεθ' οὗ συν-
147 ηκολούθησαν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἥττους ἦσαν, ὥσθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς περὶ αὑτὸν δυνάμεως τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων ὑποσπόνδους συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανομήσειε συνταράξων τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ
148 τοῦ φανεροῦ διαγωνίσασθαι. διαμαρτὼν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμμεινάντων καὶ καλῶς ἐνεγκόντων τὴν συμφοράν, ἀπιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας συνέπεμψεν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλευόμενοι τὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως διεπορεύθησαν ὡσπερανεὶ προπεμπόμενοι,

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[a] Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 3 gives the survivors of the battle of Cunaxa as 8600.

[b] *Cf.* 168 ; *Phil.* 96, 120, 121 ; *Epist.* ix. 9.

[c] Clearchus and four other captains were invited to a parley, under a truce, and treacherously slain (Xen. *Anab.* ii. 5. 31). *Cf. Phil.* 91, where Isocrates uses the same language as here.

factions, and so were not inclined to throw themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle against the King's brother. But after Cyrus had been killed, and all the people of Asia had joined forces, even under these favourable conditions they made such a disgraceful failure of the war as to leave for those who are in the habit of vaunting Persian valour not a word to say. For they had to deal with only six thousand Hellenes [a]—not picked troops, but men who, owing to stress of circumstances, were unable to live in their own cities.[b] These were, moreover, unfamiliar with the country ; they had been deserted by their allies ; they had been betrayed by those who made the expedition with them ; they had been deprived of the general whom they had followed ; and yet the Persians were so inferior to these men that the King, finding himself in difficult straits and having no confidence in the force which was under his own command, did not scruple to arrest the captains of the auxiliaries in violation of the truce,[c] hoping by this lawless act to throw their army into confusion, and preferring to offend against the gods rather than join issue openly with these soldiers. But when he failed in this plot—for the soldiers not only stood together but bore their misfortune nobly, —then, as they set out on their journey home, he sent with them Tissaphernes and the Persian cavalry. But although these kept plotting against them throughout the entire journey,[d] the Hellenes continued their march to the end as confidently as if they had been under friendly escort, dreading most

[d] Tissaphernes, one of the four generals of Artaxerxes, engaged to furnish safe escort to the Greeks but, in fact, beset their march with treachery (Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4. 9).

μάλιστα μὲν φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀοίκητον τῆς χώρας, μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομίζοντες εἰ τῶν πολε-
149 μίων ὡς πλείστοις ἐντύχοιεν. κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ λείαν ἐλθόντες οὐδὲ κώμην καταλαβόντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα στρατεύσαντες, ἀσφαλέστερον κατέβησαν τῶν περὶ φιλίας ὡς αὐτὸν πρεσβευόντων. ὥστε μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς τόποις σαφῶς ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι τὴν αὑτῶν μαλακίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὰς μάχας ἥττηνται, καὶ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δίκην ἔδοσαν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' αἰσχρῶς ἐσώθησαν), καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις καταγέλαστοι γεγόνασιν.

[72] 150 Καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' εἰκότως ἀποβέβηκεν· οὐ γὰρ οἷόντε τοὺς οὕτω τρεφομένους καὶ πολιτευομένους οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μετέχειν .οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τρόπαιον ἱστάναι τῶν πολεμίων. πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐγγενέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν ἢ στρατηγὸς δεινὸς ἢ στρατιώτης ἀγαθός, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλεῖστόν ἐστιν ὄχλος ἄτακτος καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρος, πρὸς μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἄμεινον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν πεπαι-
151 δευμένος, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες αὐτῶν ὁμαλῶς μὲν οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβίωσαν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον διάγουσιν εἰς μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντες τοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντες, ὡς ἂν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα τὰς φύσεις διαφθαρεῖεν,

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[a] See Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4. 4. *Cf. Evag.* 58.
[b] For effeminacy of the Persians see *Phil.* 124.

of all the uninhabited regions of that country, and deeming it the best possible fortune to fall in with as many of the enemy as possible. Let me sum up the whole matter: These men did not set out to get plunder or to capture a town, but took the field against the King himself, and yet they returned in greater security than ambassadors who go to him on a friendly mission. Therefore it seems to me that in every quarter the Persians have clearly exposed their degeneracy; for along the coast of Asia they have been defeated in many battles, and when they crossed to Europe they were duly punished, either perishing miserably or saving their lives with dishonour; and to crown all, they made themselves objects of derision under the very walls of their King's palace.[a]

And none of these things has happened by accident, but all of them have been due to natural causes; for it is not possible for people who are reared and governed as are the Persians, either to have a part in any other form of virtue or to set up on the field of battle trophies of victory over their foes.[b] For how could either an able general or a good soldier be produced amid such ways of life as theirs? Most of their population is a mob without discipline or experience of dangers, which has lost all stamina for war and has been trained more effectively for servitude than are the slaves in our country. Those, on the other hand, who stand highest in repute among them have never governed their lives by dictates of equality or of common interest or of loyalty to the state; on the contrary, their whole existence consists of insolence toward some, and servility towards others—a manner of life than which nothing could be

καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα διὰ τοὺς πλούτους τρυφῶντες,
τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς διὰ τὰς μοναρχίας ταπεινὰς καὶ
περιδεεῖς ἔχοντες, ἐξεταζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς
βασιλείοις καὶ προκαλινδούμενοι καὶ πάντα τρό-
πον μικρὸν φρονεῖν μελετῶντες, θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα
προσκυνοῦντες καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες, τῶν
δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλιγωροῦντες.
152 τοιγαροῦν οἱ καταβαίνοντες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
οὓς καλοῦσι σατράπας, οὐ καταισχύνουσι τὴν ἐκεῖ
παίδευσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς δια-
μένουσι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστως πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἀνάνδρως ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς τὰ
δ' ὑπερηφάνως ζῶντες, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων κατα-
153 φρονοῦντες τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους θεραπεύοντες. τὴν
μέν γε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου στρατιὰν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς
αὑτῶν δαπάναις διέθρεψαν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν
κινδυνεύοντας ἑτέρου τοσούτου χρόνου τὸν μισθὸν
ἀπεστέρησαν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν Κισθήνην καταλα-
βοῦσιν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα διένειμαν, τοὺς δὲ μεθ'
αὑτῶν εἰς Κύπρον στρατευσαμένους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
154 αἰχμαλώτους ὕβριζον. ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ
καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, τίς ἢ τῶν
πολεμησάντων αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐδαιμονήσας ἀπῆλθεν,
ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένων οὐκ αἰκισθεὶς τὸν
[73] βίον ἐτελεύτησεν; οὐ Κόνωνα μέν, ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἀσίας στρατηγήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Λακεδαι-

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[a] Viceroys of the king—provincial governors.

[b] See Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4. 26 ; Grote, *Hist.* ix. p. 92.

[c] Cisthene was probably a town in Asia Minor captured by Agesilaus in the campaign.

[d] Conon was one of the Athenian generals at the battle of Aegospotami. After that disaster he left Greece and took service with the Persians against Sparta, and was

more demoralizing to human nature. Because they are rich, they pamper their bodies ; but because they are subject to one man's power, they keep their souls in a state of abject and cringing fear, parading themselves at the door of the royal palace, prostrating themselves, and in every way schooling themselves to humility of spirit, falling on their knees before a mortal man, addressing him as a divinity, and thinking more lightly of the gods than of men. So it is that those of the Persians who come down to the sea, whom they term satraps,[a] do not dishonour the training which they receive at home, but cling steadfastly to the same habits : they are faithless to their friends and cowardly to their foes ; their lives are divided between servility on the one hand and arrogance on the other ; they treat their allies with contempt and pay court to their enemies. For example, they maintained the army under Agesilaus at their own expense for eight months,[b] but they deprived the soldiers who were fighting in the Persian cause of their pay for double that length of time ; they distributed an hundred talents among the captors of Cisthene,[c] but treated more outrageously than their prisoners of war the troops who supported them in the campaign against Cyprus. To put it briefly—and not to speak in detail but in general terms,—who of those that have fought against them has not come off with success, and who of those that have fallen under their power has not perished from their atrocities ? Take the case of Conon,[d] who, as commander in the service of Asia, brought an end to the

instrumental in the defeat of the Spartan fleet at the battle of Cnidus. For the treachery referred to here see Grote, *Hist.* ix. p. 187.

μονίων κατέλυσεν, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, Θεμιστοκλέα δ', ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κατεναυμάχησε, τῶν μεγίστων δωρεῶν
155 ἠξίωσαν; καίτοι πῶς χρὴ τὴν τούτων φιλίαν ἀγαπᾶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας τιμωροῦνται, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς ποιοῦντας οὕτως ἐπιφανῶς κολακεύουσιν; περὶ τίνας δ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξημαρτήκασιν; ποῖον δὲ χρόνον διαλελοίπασιν ἐπιβουλεύοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησιν; τί δ' οὐκ ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, οἳ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕδη καὶ τοὺς νεὼς συλᾶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν ἐτόλμησαν;
156 διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντο εἴ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ πάλιν εἰς τἀρχαῖα καταστῆσαι βουληθεῖεν, οὐκ ἀποροῦντες πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ᾖ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, καὶ μηδεὶς πιστεύῃ τοῖς τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαμαρτεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττωνται καὶ δεδίωσιν, ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολεμήσαντας.

157 Ἔχω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοις πεπολεμήκασιν, ἅμα διαλλάττονται καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπιλανθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἠπειρώταις οὐδ' ὅταν εὖ πάσχωσι χάριν

[a] Themistocles, commander of the Athenian fleet at Salamis, was later ostracized and took refuge at the Persian court. See Grote, *Hist.* v. p. 138.

[b] When they captured Athens. See 96; Herod. viii. 53; Aesch. *Persians*, 809.

[c] There is no other authority for this oath of the Ionians. A similar oath is, however, attributed by Lycurgus, *Against*

power of the Lacedaemonians: did they not shamelessly seize him for punishment by death? Take, on the other hand, the case of Themistocles,[a] who in the service of Hellas defeated them at Salamis: did they not think him worthy of the greatest gifts? Then why should we cherish the friendship of men who punish their benefactors and so openly flatter those who do them injury? Who is there among us whom they have not wronged? When have they given the Hellenes a moment's respite from their treacherous plots? What in our world is not hateful to them who did not shrink in the earlier war from rifling even the images and temples of the gods, and burning them to the ground?[b] Therefore, the Ionians deserve to be commended because, when their sanctuaries had been burned, they invoked the wrath of Heaven upon any who should disturb the ruins or should desire to restore their shrines as they were of old;[c] and they did this, not because they lacked the means to rebuild them, but in order that there might be left a memorial to future generations of the impiety of the barbarians, and that none might put their trust in men who do not scruple to commit such sins against our holy temples, but that all might be on their guard against them and fear them, seeing that they waged that war not against our persons only, but even against our votive offerings to the gods.

Of my own countrymen also I have a similar tale to tell. For towards all other peoples with whom they have been at war, they forget their past enmities the moment they have concluded peace, but toward the Asiatics they feel no gratitude even

Leocr. 81, to the collective Greeks before the battle of Plataea.

ἴσασιν· οὕτως ἀείμνηστον τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἔχουσιν. καὶ πολλῶν μὲν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν
μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς συλ-
λόγοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀρὰς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι
χρηματίζειν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν
πολιτῶν· Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ Κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ
τῶν μυστηρίων διὰ τὸ τούτων μῖσος καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ τοῖς
158 ἀνδροφόνοις, προαγορεύουσιν. οὕτω δὲ φύσει πο-
λεμικῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν μύθων
ἥδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς καὶ Περ-
σικοῖς, δι' ὧν ἔστι πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμ-
[74] φοράς. εὕροι δ' ἄν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ
πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ
τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας θρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενη-
μένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ᾀδομένους,
τῶν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμᾶς μεμνημένους.
159 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν
δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολεμήσαντας τοῖς βαρ-
βάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθῆναι τοὺς
προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην
ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει
τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν

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[a] See Plato, *Repub.* 470 c; Livy xxxi. 29, "cum barbaris omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque."

[b] See Herod. ix. 5; Lycurgus, *Against Leocr.* 122; Demosthenes, *False Legation*, 270.

[c] The custom is attributed to Aristeides by Plutarch, *Life of Aristeides*, 10.

[d] The priests at Eleusis belonged to families traditionally descended from Eumolpus and Keryx.

[e] See Herod. viii. 65; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, i. p. 15.

[f] *Cf. Evag.* 6.

when they receive favours from them ; so eternal is the wrath which they cherish against the barbarians.[a] Again, our fathers condemned many to death[b] for defection to the Medes ; in our public assemblies even to this day, before any other business is transacted, the Athenians call down curses[c] upon any citizen who proposes friendly overtures to the Persians ; and, at the celebration of the Mysteries, the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes,[d] because of our hatred of the Persians, give solemn warning to the other barbarians also, even as to men guilty of murder, that they are for ever banned from the sacred rites.[e] So ingrained in our nature is our hostility to them that even in the matter of our stories we linger most fondly over those which tell of the Trojan and the Persian wars,[f] because through them we learn of our enemies' misfortunes; and you will find that our warfare against the barbarians has inspired our hymns, while that against the Hellenes has brought forth our dirges ;[g] and that the former are sung at our festivals, while we recall the latter on occasions of sorrow. Moreover, I think that even the poetry of Homer has won a greater renown because he has nobly glorified the men who fought against the barbarians, and that on this account our ancestors determined to give his art a place of honour in our musical contests and in the education of our youth,[h] in order that we, hearing his verses over and over

[g] "Victories over the barbarians call for hymns, but victories over the Hellenes for dirges," said Gorgias in his *Epitaphios*, and Isocrates may have had his words in mind. The Gorgias fragment is quoted by Philostr. *Lives of the Sophists*, 493.

[h] See Plato, *Hipparchus* 228 B; *Repub.* 606 E, and Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1035.

ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευσαμένων τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν.

160 Ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ λίαν εἶναι τὰ παρακελευόμενα πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δ' ὁ παρὼν καιρός, ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν παρόντι μὲν μὴ χρῆσθαι, παρελθόντος δ' αὐτοῦ μεμνῆσθαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ βουληθεῖμεν ἡμῖν προσγενέσθαι, μέλλοντες βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἔξω τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων;
161 οὐκ Αἴγυπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ Κύπρος ἀφέστηκε, Φοινίκη δὲ καὶ Συρία διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι, Τύρος δ', ἐφ' ᾗ μέγ' ἐφρόνησεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου κατείληπται; τῶν δ' ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείστας οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὄντες ἔχουσι, τὰς δ' οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστι κτήσασθαι. Λυκίας δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν.
162 Ἑκατόμνως δ' ὁ Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφέστηκεν, ὁμολογήσει δ' ὅταν ἡμεῖς βουληθῶμεν. ἀπὸ δὲ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν, οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλύειν πολεμεῖν. καίτοι τοιούτων ὁρμητηρίων ὑπαρξάντων, καὶ τοσούτου πολέμου τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστάντος, τί δεῖ τὰ συμβησόμενα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν; ὅπου γὰρ μι-

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[a] See *Phil.* 101 ; *Paneg.* 140. [b] See 141 and note.

[c] Evagoras had ravaged Phoenicia and Syria, stormed Tyre, and made Cilicia revolt from Persia. See *Evag.* 62.

[d] Lycia was subjected to Persia by Harpagus (Herod. i. 176), but never tamed.

[e] See Diodorus xv. 2.

[f] From Cnidus in S.W. Asia Minor to Sinope on the

again, may learn by heart the enmity which stands from of old between us and them, and that we, admiring the valour of those who were in the war against Troy, may conceive a passion for like deeds.

So it seems to me that the motives which summon us to enter upon a war against them are many indeed; but chief among them is the present opportunity, which we must not throw away; for it is disgraceful to neglect a chance when it is present and regret it when it is past. Indeed, what further advantage could we desire to have on our side when contemplating a war against the King beyond those which are now at hand? Are not Egypt[a] and Cyprus[b] in revolt against him? Have not Phoenicia and Syria[c] been devastated because of the war? Has not Tyre, on which he set great store, been seized by his foes? Of the cities in Cilicia, the greater number are held by those who side with us and the rest are not difficult to acquire. Lycia[d] no Persian has ever subdued. Hecatomnus, the viceroy of Caria, has in reality been disaffected for a long time now,[e] and will openly declare himself whenever we wish. From Cnidus to Sinope[f] the coast of Asia is settled by Hellenes, and these we need not to persuade to go to war—all we have to do is not to restrain them. With such bases at our command for the operation of our forces, and with so widespread a war threatening Asia on every side, why, then, need we examine too closely what the outcome will be? For since the barbarians are unequal to

Black Sea; a line drawn from Cnidus to Sinope cuts off Asia Minor from Asia. The expression "from Cnidus to Sinope" was a catch-phrase.

κρῶν μερῶν ἥττους εἰσίν, οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς ἂν δια-
τεθεῖεν, εἰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν.
163 Ἔχει δ' οὕτως. ἐὰν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐρρωμε-
νεστέρως κατάσχῃ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ,
φρουρὰς μείζους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ νῦν ἐγκαταστήσας,
[75] τάχ' ἂν καὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ περὶ τὴν ἤπειρον, οἷον
Ῥόδος καὶ Σάμος καὶ Χίος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου τύχας
ἀποκλίναιεν· ἢν δ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς πρότεροι κατα-
λάβωμεν, εἰκὸς τοὺς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ
τὴν ἄλλην τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ
164 τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμωμένοις εἶναι. διὸ δεῖ σπεύδειν
καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι διατριβήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν
ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ὑστερίσαντες
τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ προέμενοί τινας τῶν συμμάχων
ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς κινδυνεύειν,
ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς προτέροις διαβᾶσιν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον
μετὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμεως ἐν μέρει
165 τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον χειροῦσθαι. δέδεικται γάρ,
ὅταν τις πολεμῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολλῶν τόπων
συλλεγομένους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως ἂν ἐπι-
στῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν.
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν προεξαμαρτόντες ἅπαντα ταῦτ'
ἐπηνωρθώσαντο, καταστάντες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους
ἀγῶνας· ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυ-
λαξόμεθα, καὶ πειρασόμεθα φθῆναι περὶ τὴν
Λυδίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν στρατόπεδον ἐγκατα-
166 στήσαντες, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἑκόντων
ἄρχει τῶν ἠπειρωτῶν, ἀλλὰ μείζω δύναμιν περὶ

[a] In the Persian Wars.
[b] The Ionians in Asia Minor. See Herod. v. 103.

small divisions of the Hellenes, it is not hard to foresee what would be their plight if they should be forced into a war against our united forces.

But this is how the matter stands: If the barbarian strengthens his hold on the cities of the coast by stationing in them larger garrisons than he has there now, perhaps those of the islands which lie near the mainland, as, for example, Rhodes and Samos and Chios, might incline to his side; but if we get possession of them first, we may expect that the populations of Lydia and Phrygia and of the rest of the up-country will be in the power of our forces operating from those positions. Therefore we must be quick and not waste time, in order that we may not repeat the experience of our fathers.[a] For they, because they took the field later than the barbarians and had to abandon some of their allies,[b] were compelled to encounter great numbers with a small force; whereas, if they had crossed over to the continent in time to be first on the ground, having with them the whole strength of Hellas, they could have subdued each of the nations there in turn. For experience has shown that when you go to war with people who are gathered together from many places, you must not wait until they are upon you, but must strike while they are still scattered. Now our fathers, having made this mistake at the outset, entirely retrieved it only after engaging in the most perilous of struggles; but we, if we are wise, shall guard against it from the beginning, and endeavour to be the first to quarter an army in the region of Lydia and Ionia, knowing that the King holds sway over the people of the continent, not because they are his willing subjects, but because

αὐτὸν ἑκάστων αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος· ἧς ἡμεῖς ὅταν
κρείττω διαβιβάσωμεν, ὃ βουληθέντες ῥᾳδίως ἂν
ποιήσαιμεν, ἀσφαλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καρ-
πωσόμεθα. πολὺ δὲ κάλλιον ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῆς
βασιλείας πολεμεῖν, ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς
ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν.

167 Ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν
στρατείαν, ἵν' οἱ τῶν συμφορῶν κοινωνήσαντες,
οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ μὴ πάντα
τὸν χρόνον δυστυχοῦντες διαγάγωσιν. ἱκανὸς γὰρ
ὁ παρεληλυθώς, ἐν ᾧ τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ γέγονεν;
πολλῶν γὰρ κακῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοὶ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσ-
εξευρήκαμεν, πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
168 ἐμποιήσαντες, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν
[76] ἀνόμως ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παίδων
καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλᾶσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν
καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπικουρεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν τοῖς φίλοις μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν.

Ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν συγ-
κειμέναις δακρύειν ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ πάθη πολλὰ
καὶ δεινὰ γιγνόμενα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφορῶντες
τοσούτου δέουσιν ἐλεεῖν, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον χαί-
ρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς ἢ τοῖς αὑτῶν
169 ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς. ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐηθείας
πολλοὶ καταγελάσειαν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὀδυροί-
μην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς Ἰταλία μὲν

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[a] *Cf.* the picture of distress in *Epist.* ix. 8-10.

[b] The hireling soldiers in Greece were becoming a serious problem. See *Phil.* 96, 120, 121 ; *Epist.* ix. 9.

he has surrounded himself with a force which is greater than any of those which they severally possess. So whenever we transport thither a force stronger than his, which we can easily do if we so will, we shall enjoy in security the resources of all Asia. Moreover, it is much more glorious to fight against the King for his empire than to contend against each other for the hegemony.

It were well to make the expedition in the present generation, in order that those who have shared in our misfortunes may also benefit by our advantages and not continue all their days in wretchedness. For sufficient is the time that is past, filled as it has been with every form of horror;[a] for many as are the ills which are incident to the nature of man, we have ourselves invented more than those which necessity lays upon us, by engendering wars and factions among ourselves; and, in consequence, some are being put to death contrary to law in their own countries, others are wandering with their women and children in strange lands, and many, compelled through lack of the necessities of life to enlist in foreign armies,[b] are being slain, fighting for their foes against their friends.

Against these ills no one has ever protested; and people are not ashamed to weep over the calamities which have been fabricated by the poets, while they view complacently the real sufferings, the many terrible sufferings, which result from our state of war; and they are so far from feeling pity that they even rejoice more in each other's sorrows than in their own blessings. But perhaps many might even laugh at my simplicity if I should lament the misfortunes of individual men, in times like these, when

ἀνάστατος γέγονε, Σικελία δὲ καταδεδούλωται, τοσαῦται δὲ πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐστίν.

170 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται μέγα φρονεῖν, μηδὲν πώποθ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνηθέντες. ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς παρούσης δόξης, ἁπάντων ἀφεμένους τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ συμβουλεύειν.
171 τυχὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄν τι συνεπέραναν· εἰ δὲ καὶ προαπεῖπον, ἀλλ' οὖν τούς γε λόγους ὥσπερ χρησμοὺς εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον ἂν κατέλιπον. νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες ἐπὶ μικροῖς σπουδάζουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων συμβουλεύειν παραλελοίπασιν.

172 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μικροψυχότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ προεστῶτες ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρρωμενεστέρως δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα τῆς παρούσης ἔχθρας. νῦν μὲν γὰρ μάτην ποιούμεθα τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας· οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα τοὺς πολέμους ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα, καὶ περιμένομεν τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν ἀλλήλους ἐργάσασθαι δυνησόμεθα.

173 Δεῖ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ἐκποδὼν ποιησα-

[a] By Dionysius I. See Diodor. xiv. 106 ff.

[b] The Sicilian cities, Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera, were surrendered to the Carthaginians by Dionysius. See Diodor. xiii. 114.

[c] By the Treaty of Antalcidas.

[d] The same complaint against the leading statesmen is made in *Epist*. ix. 8.

Italy has been laid waste,[a] when Sicily has been enslaved,[b] when such mighty cities have been given over to the barbarians,[c] and when the remaining portions of the Hellenic race are in the gravest peril.

I am amazed at those who hold power in our states,[d] if they think that they have occasion to be proud when they have never been able either to propose or to conceive a remedy for a situation so momentous; for they ought, if they had been worthy of their present reputation, to have dropped all else, and have proposed measures and given counsel about our war against the barbarians. Perhaps they might have helped us to get something done; but even if they had given up before gaining their object, they would, at any rate, have left to us their words as oracles for the future. But as things are, those who are held in highest honour are intent on matters of little consequence, and have left it to us, who stand aloof from public life,[e] to advise on matters of so great moment.

Nevertheless, the more faint-hearted our leading men happen to be, the more vigorously must the rest of us look to the means by which we shall deliver ourselves from our present discord. For as matters now stand, it is in vain that we make our treaties of peace; for we do not settle our wars, but only postpone them and wait for the opportune moment when we shall have the power to inflict some irreparable disaster upon each other.

We must clear from our path these treacherous

[e] For Isocrates' aloofness from public life see *Phil.* 81; *Panath.* 9-10; *Epist.* i. 9; *Epist.* viii. 7; and General Introd. p. xix.

μένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τάς τε πόλεις ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσομεν καὶ πιστότερον διακεισόμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦς
[77] καὶ ῥᾴδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ εἰρήνην οἷόντε βεβαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, ἢν μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, οὔθ' ὁμονοῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιησώμεθα.
174 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, ἣ καὶ τὰς ἑταιρίας διαλύει καὶ τὰς συγγενείας εἰς ἔχθραν προάγει καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καθίστησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ ὁμονοήσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἕξομεν. ὧν ἕνεκα περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον διοριοῦμεν, ὡς μόνον ἂν τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσαιμεν τῶν κινδύνων τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, εἰ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων γεγενημέναις πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καταχρήσασθαι δόξειεν ἡμῖν.

175 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ θᾶττον ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν; δι' ἃς αἱ μὲν ἠλευθερωμέναι τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖ χάριν ἴσασιν, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον τυχοῦσαι τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, αἱ δ' ἐκδεδομέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις μάλιστα μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπικαλοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετα-

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[a] That is, instead of warring among themselves and plundering each other, the Greeks must wage their wars against, and seek their plunder from, the barbarians. *Cf.* 15 and 187; *Phil.* 9.

[b] *Cf.* Theognis, 386 ff.

[c] The Treaty of Antalcidas. See 115-120 and notes.

designs and pursue that course of action which will enable us to dwell in our several cities with greater security and to feel greater confidence in each other. What I have to say on these points is simple and easy: It is not possible for us to cement an enduring peace unless we join together in a war against the barbarians, nor for the Hellenes to attain to concord until we wrest our material advantages from one and the same source and wage our wars against one and the same enemy.[a] When these conditions have been realized, and when we have been freed from the poverty which afflicts our lives—a thing that breaks up friendships, perverts the affections of kindred into enmity, and plunges the whole world into war and strife [b]—then surely we shall enjoy a spirit of concord, and the good will which we shall feel towards each other will be genuine. For all these reasons, we must make it our paramount duty to transfer the war with all speed from our boundaries to the continent, since the only benefit which we can reap from the wars which we have waged against each other is by resolving that the experience which we have gained from them shall be employed against the barbarians.

But is it not well, you may perhaps ask, on account of the Treaty,[c] to curb ourselves and not be over-hasty or make the expedition too soon, seeing that the states which have gained their freedom through the Treaty feel grateful toward the King, because they believe that it was through him that they gained their independence, while those states which have been delivered over to the barbarians complain very bitterly of the Lacedaemonians and only less bitterly of the other Hellenes who entered

σχοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτων δουλεύειν
ἠναγκασμέναι. καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ διαλύειν ταύτας
τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν, ὡς
ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος κήδεται τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ φύλαξ
τῆς εἰρήνης ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δέ τινές εἰσιν οἱ λυμαινό-
176 μενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες αὐτήν; ὃ δὲ πάντων
καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς
ὁμολογίαις τὰ χείριστα τυγχάνομεν διαφυλάττον-
τες. ἃ μὲν γὰρ αὐτονόμους ἀφίησι τάς τε νήσους
καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, πάλαι
λέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἐστίν· ἃ δ'
αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν φέρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων
ἐκδέδωκε, ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ χώραν μένει καὶ πάντες
αὐτὰ κύρια ποιοῦμεν· ἃ χρῆν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ μηδὲ
μίαν ἐᾶν ἡμέραν, νομίζοντας προστάγματα καὶ
μὴ συνθήκας εἶναι. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι συν-
θῆκαι μέν εἰσιν, αἵ τινες ἂν ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ἀμ-
[78] φοτέροις ἔχωσι, προστάγματα δὲ τὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους
177 ἐλαττοῦντα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον; διὸ καὶ τῶν πρε-
σβευσάντων ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην δικαίως ἂν κατη-
γοροῖμεν, ὅτι πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐποιήσαντο τὰς συνθήκας. ἐχρῆν
γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴτ' ἐδόκει τὴν αὑτῶν ἔχειν ἑκάστους,
εἴτε καὶ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἐπάρχειν, εἴτε τούτων
κρατεῖν ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες,
ἕν τι τούτων ὁρισαμένους καὶ κοινὸν τὸ δίκαιον

[a] Articles of treaties were commonly inscribed on pillars of stone, set up either within a public temple or near it.

[b] Chiefly Antalcidas of Sparta and Tiribazus, the Persian satrap, negotiated the peace. Isocrates complains that the treaty was arbitrary—not based on any principle whatsoever.

into the peace, because, in their view, they were forced by them into slavery? But, I reply, is it not our duty to annul this agreement, which has given birth to such a sentiment—the sentiment that the barbarian cares tenderly for Hellas, and stands guard over her peace, while among ourselves are to be found those who outrage and evilly entreat her? The crowning absurdity of all, however, is the fact that among the articles which are written in the agreement it is only the worst which we guard and observe. For those which guarantee the independence of the islands and of the cities in Europe have long since been broken and are dead letters on the pillars,[a] while those which bring shame upon us and by which many of our allies have been given over to the enemy—these remain intact, and we all regard them as binding upon us, though we ought to have expunged them and not allowed them to stand a single day, looking upon them as commands, and not as compacts; for who does not know that a compact is something which is fair and impartial to both parties, while a command is something which puts one side at a disadvantage unjustly? On this ground we may justly complain of our envoys who negotiated this peace,[b] because, although dispatched by the Hellenes, they made the Treaty in the interest of the barbarians. For they ought, no matter whether they took the view that each of the states concerned should retain its original territory, or that each should extend its sovereignty over all that it had acquired by conquest, or that we should each retain control over what we held when peace was declared—they ought, I say, to have adopted definitely some one of these views, applying the principle impartially to all,

ποιησαμένους, οὕτω συγγράφεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.
178 νῦν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει καὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἁπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότην κατέστησαν, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων ἡμῶν, ἢ τῆς μὲν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς πάλαι καθεστηκυίας, ἡμῶν δ' ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις κατοικούντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μὲν νεωστὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἐχόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δυναστευόντων.

179 Οἶμαι δ' ἐκείνως εἰπὼν μᾶλλον δηλώσειν τήν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν. τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἁπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν εἴληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς
180 ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος. καὶ ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράψαντας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν καταθεῖναι, πολὺ κάλλιον τρόπαιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γιγνομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἔργων καὶ μιᾶς τύχης ἐστίν, αὗται δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἑστήκασιν.

181 Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄξιον ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν τε γεγενημένων δίκην ληψόμεθα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα διορθωσόμεθα. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις ἀξιοῦν χρῆσθαι, δημοσίᾳ δὲ τοσούτους τῶν συμμάχων περιορᾶν

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[a] Compare the boast of Xerxes in Herod. vii. 8.
[b] See *Panath.* 107.

and on this basis to have drafted the articles of the Treaty. But instead of that, they assigned no honour whatsoever to our city or to Lacedaemon, while they set up the barbarian as lord of all Asia; as if we had gone to war for his sake, or as if the rule of the Persians had been long established, and we were only just now founding our cities—whereas in fact it is they who have only recently attained this place of honour, while Athens and Lacedaemon have been throughout their entire history a power among the Hellenes.

I think, however, that I shall show still more clearly both the dishonour which we have suffered, and the advantage which the King has gained by putting the matter in this way: All the world which lies beneath the firmament being divided into two parts, the one called Asia, the other Europe, he has taken half of it by the Treaty, as if he were apportioning the earth with Zeus,[a] and not making compacts with men. Yes, and he has compelled us to engrave this Treaty on pillars of stone and place it in our public temples [b]—a trophy far more glorious for him than those which are set up on fields of battle; for the latter are for minor deeds and a single success, but this treaty stands as a memorial of the entire war and of the humiliation of the whole of Hellas.

These things may well rouse our indignation and make us look to the means by which we shall take vengeance for the past and set the future right. For verily it is shameful for us, who in our private life think the barbarians are fit only to be used as household slaves, to permit by our public policy so many of our allies to be enslaved by them; and it is disgraceful

αὐτοῖς δουλεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωικὰ
γενομένους μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἁρπασθείσης οὕτως
ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσιν, ὥστε μὴ
[79] πρότερον παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας πρὶν τὴν πόλιν
ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐξαμαρτεῖν,
182 ἡμᾶς δ᾿ ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβριζομένης μηδεμίαν
ποιήσασθαι κοινὴν τιμωρίαν, ἐξὸν ἡμῖν εὐχῆς ἄξια
διαπράξασθαι. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος εἰρή-
νης κρείττων ἐστί, θεωρίᾳ μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατείᾳ
προσεοικώς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων, καὶ τοῖς
ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. εἴη
γὰρ ἂν τοῖς μὲν ἀδεῶς τὰ σφέτερ᾿ αὐτῶν καρ-
ποῦσθαι, τοῖς δ᾿ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μεγάλους
πλούτους κατακτήσασθαι.

183 Πολλαχῇ δ᾿ ἄν τις λογιζόμενος εὕροι ταύτας
τὰς πράξεις μάλιστα λυσιτελούσας ἡμῖν. φέρε
γάρ, πρὸς τίνας χρὴ πολεμεῖν τοὺς μηδεμιᾶς
πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀλλ᾿ αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον
σκοποῦντας; οὐ πρὸς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον κακῶς
τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσαντας καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντας
καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμέ-
184 νους; τίσι δὲ φθονεῖν εἰκός ἐστι τοὺς μὴ παντά-
πασιν ἀνάνδρως διακειμένους ἀλλὰ μετρίως τούτῳ
τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους; οὐ τοῖς μείζους μὲν
τὰς δυναστείας ἢ κατ᾿ ἀνθρώπους περιβεβλη-
μένοις, ἐλάττονος δ᾿ ἀξίοις τῶν παρ᾿ ἡμῖν δυστυ-
χούντων; ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ στρατεύειν προσήκει τοὺς
ἅμα μὲν εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους ἅμα δὲ τοῦ συμ-
φέροντος ἐνθυμουμένους; οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ φύσει

for us, when our fathers who engaged in the Trojan expedition because of the rape of one woman, all shared so deeply in the indignation of the wronged that they did not stop waging war until they had laid in ruins the city of him who had dared to commit the crime,—it is disgraceful for us, I say, now that all Hellas is being continually outraged, to take not a single step to wreak a common vengeance, although we have it in our power to accomplish deeds as lofty as our dreams. For this war is the only war which is better than peace ; it will be more like a sacred mission than a military expedition ; and it will profit equally both those who crave the quiet life and those who are eager for war ; for it will enable the former to reap the fruits of their own possessions in security and the latter to win great wealth from the possessions of our foes.

You will find, if you weigh the matter carefully, that this undertaking is most desirable for us from many points of view. For against whom, pray, ought men to wage war who crave no aggrandizement, but look to the claims of justice alone ? Is it not against those who in the past have injured Hellas, and are now plotting against her, and have always been so disposed towards us ? And against whom should we expect men to direct their envy who, while not wholly lacking in courage, yet curb this feeling with prudence ? Is it not against those who have compassed powers that are too great for man, and yet are less deserving than those who are unfortunate among us ? And against whom should those take the field who both desire to serve their gods and are at the same time intent on their own advantage ? Is it not against those who are both their natural

πολεμίους καὶ πατρικοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένους, ἥκιστα δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμύνεσθαι δυναμένους; οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

185 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις λυπήσομεν στρατιώτας ἐξ αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες, ὃ νῦν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀχληρότατόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς· πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι σπανιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μένειν ἐθελήσοντας τῶν συνακολουθεῖν ἐπιθυμησόντων. τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ῥᾴθυμός ἐστιν, ὅστις οὐ μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς, τῆς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγουμένης, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλευθερίας ἀθροιζομένης, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης ἐκπεμπομένης, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων τιμωρίαν
186 πορευομένης; φήμην δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν
[80] πόσην τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν ἢ ζῶντας ἕξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; ὅπου γὰρ οἱ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμήσαντες καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἑλόντες τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθησαν, ποίων τινῶν χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἐγκωμίων τεύξεσθαι τοὺς ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας κρατήσαντας; τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσει καὶ φιλοσοφήσει βουλόμενος ἅμα τῆς θ' αὑτοῦ διανοίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μνημεῖον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καταλιπεῖν;

187 Οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τυγχάνω γνώμην ἔχων ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου. τότε μὲν γὰρ ᾤμην ἀξίως δυνήσεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν· νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐφικνοῦμαι τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν,

enemies and their hereditary foes, who have acquired the greatest possessions and are yet, of all men, the least able to defend them? Do not the Persians, then, fulfil all these conditions?

Furthermore, we shall not even trouble the several states by levying soldiers from them—a practice which now in our warfare against each other they find most burdensome. For it is my belief that those who will be inclined to remain at home will be far fewer than those who will be eager to join this army. For who, be he young or old, is so indolent that he will not desire to have a part in this expedition—an expedition led by the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, gathered together in the cause of the liberty of our allies, dispatched by all Greece, and faring forth to wreak vengeance on the barbarians? And how great must we think will be the name and the fame and the glory which they will enjoy during their lives, or, if they die in battle, will leave behind them—they who will have won the meed of honour in such an enterprise? For if those who made war against an Alexander [a] and took a single city were accounted worthy of such praise, what encomiums should we expect these men to win who have conquered the whole of Asia? For who that is skilled to sing or trained to speak will not labour and study in his desire to leave behind a memorial both of his own genius and of their valour, for all time to come?

I am not at the present moment of the same mind as I was at the beginning of my speech. For then I thought that I should be able to speak in a manner worthy of my theme; now, however, I have not risen to its grandeur, and many of the thoughts which I had

[a] Another name for Paris.

ἀλλὰ πολλά με διαπέφευγεν ὧν διενοήθην. αὐτοὺς οὖν χρὴ συνδιορᾶν ὅσης ἂν εὐδαιμονίας τύχοιμεν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν νῦν ὄντα περὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς ἠπειρώτας ποιησαίμεθα, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην διακομίσαιμεν,
188 καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκροατὰς γενομένους ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πράττειν δυναμένους παρακαλοῦντας ἀλλήλους πειρᾶσθαι διαλλάττειν τήν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τοὺς δὲ τῶν λόγων ἀμφισβητοῦντας πρὸς μὲν τὴν παρακαταθήκην καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νῦν φλυαροῦσι παύεσθαι γράφοντας, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἅμιλλαν, καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἄμεινον
189 ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων ἐροῦσιν, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλ' ὑπισχνουμένοις οὐ πρέπει περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα λέγειν ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μηδὲν ἐπιδώσει τῶν πεισθέντων, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐπιτελεσθέντων αὐτοί τ' ἀπαλλαγήσονται τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι δόξουσιν εἶναι.

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[a] The translation is influenced by Professor Bonner's note on τὴν παρακαταθήκην in *Classical Philology*, xv. p. 385. He argues convincingly that τὴν παρακαταθήκην is not a particular deposit but that the article is "generic, not specific." Deposits entrusted by one man with another were rather common transactions before the days of banks and caused frequent lawsuits. Hence "the deposit theme" became a hackneyed exercise in the schools of rhetoric. It is, in the opinion of Isocrates, too commonplace and trivial for serious oratory.

[b] "Humble bees and salt" are mentioned in *Helen* 12 as subjects on which speakers show off their powers to the

in mind to utter have escaped me. Therefore you must come to my aid and try to picture to yourselves what vast prosperity we should attain if we should turn the war which now involves ourselves against the peoples of the continent, and bring the prosperity of Asia across to Europe. And you must not depart to your homes as men who have merely listened to an oration; nay, those among you who are men of action must exhort one another to try to reconcile our city with Lacedaemon; and those among you who make claims to eloquence must stop composing orations on "deposits,"[a] or on the other trivial themes[b] which now engage your efforts, and centre your rivalry on this subject and study how you may surpass me in speaking on the same question, bearing ever in mind that it does not become men who promise great things to waste their time on little things,[c] nor yet to make the kind of speeches which will improve no whit the lives of those whom they convince, but rather the kind which, if carried out in action, will both deliver the authors themselves from their present distress[d] and win for them the credit of bringing to pass great blessings for the rest of the world.[e]

neglect of worthy themes. In general, he seems here to be thinking of such rhetorical *tours de force* as Lucian caricatures in his *Encomium on the House Fly*.

[c] This very complaint he makes of his rival sophists. See *Against the Sophists*, 1, 10.

[d] Not too urbanely he dwells upon the poverty of his rivals. *Cf*. *Against the Sophists*, 4, 7.

[e] The kind of discourse to which Isocrates himself devoted his serious efforts. See *Panath*. 11 and General Introd. p. xxiv.

V. TO PHILIP

INTRODUCTION

The *Address to Philip* was written in 346 B.C., shortly after the ten years' war between Athens and Philip over the possession of Amphipolis was concluded by the Peace of Philocrates.[a] Isocrates hailed the peace with enthusiasm. He had been actively opposed to the war-party in Athens,[b] believing that the true interests of Athens and of Philip lay in mutual friendship. He was, in fact, engaged in the composition of a discourse urging this point of view and arguing, somewhat paradoxically, that the possession of Amphipolis was equally detrimental to both parties to the quarrel, when the declaration of peace interrupted his labours. This discourse was never finished; and, save for the brief digest of it with which Isocrates opens his *Address to Philip*, was never published. The circumstances which inspired it having been happily brought to an end, he turned his thoughts to the greater question of how the state of peace might be made permanent and the curse of mutual warfare removed once for all from Hellas. He was free to indulge again his dream of pan-Hellenism.

The years which had passed since he wrote the

[a] On this peace see Grote, *Hist. of Greece* (new edition), xi. p. 199.

[b] See General Introd. p. xli.

Panegyricus had disabused his mind of the illusion that any Greek state could reconcile the Greeks and unite them in any cause.[a] But the career of Philip—his personal force, his proved military genius, his Hellenic sympathies, and his declared ambition to be captain-general of the Greeks in a war against Persia[b]—awakened in Isocrates the hope that the powerful king of Macedonia might accomplish this union and lead the Greeks into the promised land. That hope had remained unvoiced during the war with Philip; but now that hostilities had ceased, Isocrates addressed to him a call to action in this greater cause.

The *Address to Philip* is the plea of the *Panegyricus* over again, but with this great difference—Athens, urged to crown her glorious past with the greater glory of leadership in this crusade, is no longer in the picture.[c]

[a] See General Introd. p. xxxvii.
[b] *Ibid.* p. xli.
[c] *Ibid.* p. xlii.

[81] ## ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ

[82] Μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ὦ Φίλιππε, διότι τοῦ λόγου ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ τοῦ πρὸς σὲ ῥηθησομένου καὶ νῦν δειχθήσεσθαι μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως γραφέντος. περὶ οὗ μικρὰ βούλομαι προειπεῖν, ἵνα δηλώσω καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς οὐ δι' ἄνοιαν οὐδὲ διαψευσθεὶς τῆς ἀρρωστίας τῆς νῦν μοι παρούσης ἐπεθέμην γράφειν τὸν πρὸς σὲ λόγον, ἀλλ' εἰκότως καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπαχθείς.

2 Ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐνστάντα σοὶ καὶ τῇ πόλει περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον γιγνόμενον, ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν περί τε τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ἑταίρων λεγομένοις οὔτε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς οἷόντε
3 πλεῖστον ἀφεστῶτα τῆς τούτων διανοίας. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ παρώξυνον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, συναγορεύοντες ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων οὐδὲν ἀπεφαινόμην, ὃν δ' ὑπελάμβανον τῶν λόγων εἰρηνικώτατον εἶναι, περὶ τοῦτον διέτριβον, λέγων ὡς ἀμφότεροι διαμαρ-

[a] Amphipolis, a city in Macedonia near the mouth of the Strymon river, conquered and colonized by Athenians in 437 B.C. It was taken by Philip in 358 B.C., but the war with Athens was delayed until Philip seized Potidaea, 356 B.C.

[b] Isocrates had now passed his ninetieth birthday.

V. TO PHILIP

Do not be surprised, Philip, that I am going to begin, not with the discourse which is to be addressed to you and which is presently to be brought to your attention, but with that which I have written about Amphipolis.[a] For I desire to say a few words, by way of preface, about this question, in order that I may make it clear to you as well as to the rest of the world that it was not in a moment of folly that I undertook to write my address to you, nor because I am under any misapprehension as to the infirmity [b] which now besets me, but that I was led advisedly and deliberately to this resolution.

For when I saw that the war in which you and our city had become involved over Amphipolis was proving the source of many evils, I endeavoured to express opinions regarding this city and territory which, so far from being the same as those entertained by your friends, or by the orators among us, were as far as possible removed from their point of view. For they were spurring you on to the war by seconding your covetousness, while I, on the contrary, expressed no opinion whatever on the points in controversy, but occupied myself with a plea which I conceived to be more than all others conducive to peace, maintaining that both you and the Athenians were mistaken about the real state of affairs, and

[83] τάνετε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ σὺ μὲν πολεμεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῖν συμφερόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς δυναστείας· λυσιτελεῖν γὰρ σοὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ταύτην, τῇ δὲ πόλει μηδ' ἐξ
4 ἑνὸς τρόπου λαβεῖν αὐτήν. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐδόκουν διεξιέναι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ὥστε μηδένα τὸν λόγον αὐτῶν μηδὲ τὴν λέξιν ἐπαινεῖν ὡς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἔχουσαν, ὅπερ εἰώθασί τινες ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν πραγμάτων θαυμάζειν, καὶ νομίζειν οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως παύ-
5 σασθαι τῆς φιλονικίας ὑμᾶς, πλὴν εἰ σὺ μὲν πεισθείης πλείονος ἀξίαν ἔσεσθαί σοι τὴν τῆς πόλεως φιλίαν ἢ τὰς προσόδους τὰς ἐξ Ἀμφιπόλεως γιγνομένας, ἡ δὲ πόλις δυνηθείη καταμαθεῖν ὡς χρὴ τὰς μὲν τοιαύτας φεύγειν ἀποικίας, αἵ τινες τετράκις ἢ πεντάκις ἀπολωλέκασι τοὺς ἐμπολιτευθέντας, ζητεῖν δ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους τοὺς πόρρω μὲν κειμένους τῶν ἄρχειν δυναμένων, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῶν δουλεύειν εἰθισμένων, εἰς οἷόν περ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κυρηναίους ἀπῴκισαν·
6 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ σὺ μὲν γνοίης ὅτι λόγῳ παραδοὺς τὴν χώραν ἡμῖν ταύτην αὐτὸς ἔργῳ κρατήσεις αὐτῆς, καὶ προσέτι τὴν εὔνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν κτήσει (τοσούτους γὰρ ὁμήρους λήψει παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς φιλίας, ὅσους περ ἂν ἐποίκους εἰς τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν ἀποστείλωμεν), τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἡμῶν εἴ τις διδάξειεν, ὡς ἂν λάβωμεν Ἀμφίπολιν, ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν εὔνοιαν ἔχειν τοῖς σοῖς

[a] Such as Amphipolis, surrounded by warlike tribes.
[b] Cyrene, in northern Africa. See Grote, *Hist.* iii. p. 445.

that you were fighting in support of our interests, and our city in support of your power; for it was to your advantage, I urged, that we should possess the territory of Amphipolis, while it was in no possible way to our advantage to acquire it. Yes, and I so impressed my hearers by my statement of the case that not one of them thought of applauding my oratory or the finish and the purity of my style, as some are wont to do, but instead they marvelled at the truth of my arguments, and were convinced that only on certain conditions could you and the Athenians be made to cease from your contentious rivalry. In the first place, you, for your part, will have to be persuaded that the friendship of our city would be worth more to you than the revenues which you derive from Amphipolis, while Athens will have to learn, if she can, the lesson that she should avoid planting the kind of colonies [a] which have been the ruin, four or five times over, of those domiciled in them, and should seek out for colonization the regions which are far distant from peoples which have a capacity for dominion and near those which have been habituated to subjection—such a region as, for example, that in which the Lacedaemonians established the colony of Cyrene.[b] In the next place, you will have to realize that by formally surrendering this territory to us you would in fact still hold it in your power, and would, besides, gain our good will, for you would then have as many hostages of ours to guarantee our friendship as we should send out settlers into the region of your influence; while someone will have to make our own people see that, if we got possession of Amphipolis, we should be compelled to maintain the same

πράγμασι διὰ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κατοικοῦντας οἵαν περ εἴχομεν Ἀμαδόκῳ τῷ παλαιῷ διὰ τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ γεωργοῦντας.

7 Τοιούτων δὲ πολλῶν λεγομένων ἤλπισαν ὅσοι περ ἤκουσαν, διαδοθέντος τοῦ λόγου διαλύσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ὑμᾶς καὶ γνωσιμαχήσαντας βουλεύσεσθαί τι κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀφρόνως ἢ καὶ νουνεχόντως ταῦτ' ἐδόξαζον, δικαίως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοιεν· ὄντος δ' οὖν ἐμοῦ περὶ τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην ἔφθητε ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, πρὶν ἐξεργασθῆναι τὸν λόγον, σωφρονοῦντες· ὅπως γὰρ οὖν πεπρᾶχθαι
[84] κρεῖττον ἦν αὐτὴν ἢ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς
8 διὰ τὸν πόλεμον γιγνομένοις. συνησθεὶς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ψηφισθεῖσι, καὶ νομίσας οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἅπασι συνοίσειν, ἀποστῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ διάνοιαν τῶν ἐχομένων οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν, ἀλλ' οὕτω διεκείμην ὥστ' εὐθὺς σκοπεῖσθαι πῶς ἂν τὰ πεπραγμένα παραμείνειεν ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ χρόνον ὀλίγον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διαλιποῦσα πάλιν ἑτέρων πολέμων
9 ἐπιθυμήσειε· διεξιὼν δὲ περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὕρισκον οὐδαμῶς ἂν ἄλλως αὐτὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσαν, πλὴν εἰ δόξειε ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς μεγίσταις διαλυσαμέναις τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸν πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν, καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἃς

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[a] An alliance was entered into between Athens and Amadocus, the powerful Thracian king, 390 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 26).

[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 172-174.

friendly attitude toward your policy, because of our colonists there, as we did for the elder Amadocus[a] because of our landholders in the Chersonese.

As I continued to say many things of this tenor, those who heard me were inspired with the hope that when my discourse should be published you and the Athenians would bring the war to an end, and, having conquered your pride, would adopt some policy for your mutual good. Whether indeed they were foolish or sensible in taking this view is a question for which they, and not I, may fairly be held to account; but in any case, while I was still occupied with this endeavour, you and Athens anticipated me by making peace before I had completed my discourse; and you were wise in doing so, for to conclude the peace, no matter how, was better than to continue to be oppressed by the evils engendered by the war. But although I was in joyful accord with the resolutions which were adopted regarding the peace, and was convinced that they would be beneficial, not only to us, but also to you and all the other Hellenes, I could not divorce my thought from the possibilities connected with this step, but found myself in a state of mind where I began at once to consider how the results which had been achieved might be made permanent for us, and how our city could be prevented from setting her heart upon further wars, after a short interval of peace.[b] As I kept going over these questions in my own thoughts, I found that on no other condition could Athens remain at peace, unless the greatest states of Hellas should resolve to put an end to their mutual quarrels and carry the war beyond our borders into Asia, and should determine to wrest

νῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦσιν αὑταῖς γίγνεσθαι,
ταύτας εἰ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι βου-
ληθεῖεν· ἅπερ ἐν τῷ πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ τυγχάνω
συμβεβουλευκώς.
10 Ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθείς, καὶ νομίσας οὐδέποτ' ἂν
εὑρεθῆναι καλλίω ταύτης ὑπόθεσιν οὐδὲ κοινο-
τέραν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἅπασιν ἡμῖν συμφέρουσαν,
ἐπήρθην πάλιν γράψαι περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν
οὐδὲν τῶν περὶ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς μὲν τὸν
λόγον τοῦτον οὐ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς ἐμῆς δεόμενον,
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνθοῦσαν τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν
11 φύσιν πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντος, ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι
χαλεπόν ἐστι περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν δύο λόγους
ἀνεκτῶς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὁ πρότερον ἐκδοθεὶς
οὕτως ᾖ γεγραμμένος, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βασκαίνον-
τας ἡμᾶς μιμεῖσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον
12 τῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπαινούντων. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ
ταύτας τὰς δυσχερείας ὑπεριδὼν οὕτως ἐπὶ γήρως
γέγονα φιλότιμος, ὥστ' ἠβουλήθην ἅμα τοῖς πρὸς
σὲ λεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ διατρίψασιν
ὑποδεῖξαι καὶ ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ταῖς
πανηγύρεσιν ἐνοχλεῖν καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας λέγειν
τοὺς συντρέχοντας ἐν αὐταῖς πρὸς οὐδένα λέγειν
ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν λόγων ἄκυροι
τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις
13 ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν γεγραμμέναις, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς
[85] βουλομένους μὴ μάτην φλυαρεῖν ἀλλὰ προὔργου
τι ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς οἰομένους ἀγαθόν τι κοινὸν

[a] See *Paneg.* 17, where almost the same words are used.

[b] The same sentiment is expressed in *Epist.* i. 6-7. See General Introd. pp. xxxvi ff.

from the barbarians the advantages which they now think it proper to get for themselves at the expense of the Hellenes. This was, in fact, the course which I had already advocated in the *Panegyric* discourse.[a]

Having pondered on these matters and come to the conclusion that there could never be found a subject nobler than this, of more general appeal, or of greater profit to us all, I was moved to write upon it a second time. Yet I did not fail to appreciate my own deficiencies; I knew that this theme called for a man, not of my years, but in the full bloom of his vigour and with natural endowments far above those of other men; and I realized also that it is difficult to deliver two discourses with tolerable success upon the same subject, especially when the one which was first published was so written that even my detractors imitate and admire it more than do those who praise it to excess. Nevertheless, disregarding all these difficulties, I have become so ambitious in my old age that I have determined by addressing my discourse to you at the same time to set an example to my disciples and make it evident to them that to burden our national assemblies with oratory and to address all the people who there throng together is, in reality, to address no one at all;[b] that such speeches are quite as ineffectual as the legal codes and constitutions[c] drawn up by the sophists; and, finally, that those who desire, not to chatter empty nonsense, but to further some practical purpose, and those who think they have hit upon

[c] Possibly a disparagement of Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* (see Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, ii. p. 4), but more probably of Isocrates' unfriendly rival, Antisthenes, who, according to Diog. Laert. vi. 1. 16, wrote a work *On Law, or the Constitution of a State.*

εὑρηκέναι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐᾶν πανηγυρίζειν, αὐτοὺς δ' ὧν εἰσηγοῦνται ποιήσασθαί τινα προστάτην τῶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν δυναμένων καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην ἐχόντων, εἴπερ μέλλουσί τινες προσέξειν αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν.

14 *Ἅ περ ἐγὼ γνοὺς διαλεχθῆναι σοὶ προειλόμην, οὐ πρὸς χάριν ἐκλεξάμενος, — καίτοι πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιησαίμην ἂν σοι κεχαρισμένως εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔσχον. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἑώρων τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ πόλεσι καὶ νόμοις οἰκοῦντας, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν πλὴν τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἔτι δὲ πολὺ καταδεεστέρους ὄντας τῶν πραγμά-*
15 *των τῶν ῥηθησομένων, σοὶ δὲ μόνῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης δεδομένην καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς οὕς τινας ἂν βουληθῇς, καὶ δέχεσθαι παρ' ὧν ἄν σοι δοκῇ, καὶ λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν ἡγῇ συμφέρειν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἃ μόνα τῶν ὄντων καὶ πείθειν καὶ βιάζεσθαι πέφυκεν· ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα προσδεήσ-*
16 *σεσθαι. μέλλω γάρ σοι συμβουλεύειν προστῆναι τῆς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους στρατείας· ἔστι δὲ τὸ μὲν πείθειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας συμφέρον, τὸ δὲ βιάζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους χρήσιμον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περιβολὴ παντὸς τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν.*

17 *Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δὲ πρὸς σὲ κατειπεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλύ-*

[a] See 127 and General Introd. p. xlii.

some plan for the common good, must leave it to others to harangue at the public festivals, but must themselves win over someone to champion their cause from among men who are capable not only of speech but of action and who occupy a high position in the world—if, that is to say, they are to command any attention.

It was with this mind that I chose to address to you what I have to say—not that I singled you out to curry your favour, although in truth I would give much to speak acceptably to you. It was not, however, with this in view that I came to my decision, but rather because I saw that all the other men of high repute were living under the control of polities and laws,[a] with no power to do anything save what was prescribed, and that, furthermore, they were sadly unequal to the enterprise which I shall propose; while you and you alone had been granted by fortune free scope both to send ambassadors to whomsoever you desire and to receive them from whomsoever you please, and to say whatever you think expedient; and that, besides, you, beyond any of the Hellenes, were possessed of both wealth and power, which are the only things in the world that are adapted at once to persuade and to compel; and these aids, I think, even the cause which I shall propose to you will need to have on its side. For I am going to advise you to champion the cause of concord among the Hellenes and of a campaign against the barbarian; and as persuasion will be helpful in dealing with the Hellenes, so compulsion will be useful in dealing with the barbarians. This, then, is the general scope of my discourse.

But I must not shrink from telling you plainly of

πησάν τινές με τῶν πλησιασάντων· οἶμαι γὰρ ἔσεσθαί τι προὔργου. δηλώσαντος γάρ μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι μέλλω σοι λόγον πέμπειν οὐκ ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενον οὐδ᾿ ἐγκωμιασόμενον τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς διὰ σοῦ γεγενημένους (ἕτεροι γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσουσιν), ἀλλὰ πειρασόμενόν σε προτρέπειν ἐπὶ πράξεις οἰκειοτέρας καὶ καλλίους καὶ μᾶλλον συμφερούσας ὧν νῦν τυγχάνεις προῃρημένος,

18 οὕτως ἐξεπλάγησαν μὴ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐξεστηκὼς ὦ τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὥστ᾿ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιπλῆξαί μοι,

[86] πρότερον οὐκ εἰωθότες τοῦτο ποιεῖν, λέγοντες ὡς ἀτόποις καὶ λίαν ἀνοήτοις ἐπιχειρῶ πράγμασιν, "ὅς τις Φιλίππῳ συμβουλεύσοντα λόγον μέλλεις πέμπειν, ὃς εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἐνόμιζεν αὑτὸν εἶναί τινος πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καταδεέστερον, νῦν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμβεβηκότων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ οἴεται βέλτιον δύνασθαι βουλεύεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων.

19 ἔπειτα καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔχει περὶ αὑτὸν τοὺς σπουδαιοτάτους, οὓς εἰκός, εἰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείρως ἔχουσι, τό γε συμφέρον ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ σὲ γιγνώσκειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὺς ἂν ἴδοις ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντας, οὐκ ἀδόξους ἄνδρας οὐδ᾿ ἀνοήτους, ἀλλ᾿ οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἀνακοινούμενος οὐκ ἐλάττω τὴν βασιλείαν πεποίηκεν ἀλλ᾿

20 εὐχῆς ἄξια διαπέπρακται. τί γὰρ ἐλλέλοιπεν; οὐ Θετταλοὺς μὲν τοὺς πρότερον ἐπάρχοντας Μακεδονίας οὕτως οἰκείως πρὸς αὑτὸν διακεῖσθαι πεποίηκεν, ὥσθ᾿ ἑκάστους αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ

the discouragements I met with from some of my associates; for I think the tale will be somewhat to my purpose. When I disclosed to them my intention of sending you an address whose aim was, not to make a display, nor to extol the wars which you have carried on—for others will do this—but to attempt to urge you to a course of action which is more in keeping with your nature, and more noble and more profitable than any which you have hitherto elected to follow, they were so dismayed, fearing that because of my old age I had parted with my wits, that they ventured to take me to task—a thing which up to that time they had not been wont to do—insisting that I was applying myself to an absurd and exceedingly senseless undertaking. "Think of it!" they said. "You are about to send an address which is intended to offer advice to Philip, a man who, even if in the past he regarded himself as second to anyone in prudence, cannot now fail, because of the magnitude of his fortunes, to think that he is better able than all others to advise himself! More than that, he has about him the ablest men in Macedonia, who, however inexperienced they may be in other matters, are likely to know better than you do what is expedient for him. Furthermore, you will find that there are many Hellenes living in his country, who are not unknown to fame or lacking in intelligence, but men by sharing whose counsel he has not diminished his kingdom but has, on the contrary, accomplished deeds which match his dreams. For what is lacking to complete his success? Has he not converted the Thessalians, whose power formerly extended over Macedonia, into an attitude so friendly to him that every Thessalian has more confidence in him than in

πιστεύειν ἢ τοῖς συμπολιτευομένοις; τῶν δὲ
πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον τὰς μὲν ταῖς
εὐεργεσίαις πρὸς τὴν αὑτοῦ συμμαχίαν προσῆκται,
τὰς δὲ σφόδρα λυπούσας αὐτὸν ἀναστάτους πε-
21 ποίηκεν; Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ Περραιβοὺς καὶ Παίο-
νας κατέστραπται, καὶ πάντας ὑπηκόους αὑτοὺς
εἴληφεν; τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυριῶν πλήθους πλὴν τῶν παρὰ
τὸν Ἀδρίαν οἰκούντων ἐγκρατὴς καὶ κύριος γέ-
γονεν; ἁπάσης δὲ τῆς Θρᾴκης οὓς ἠβουλήθη
δεσπότας κατέστησεν; τὸν δὴ τοιαῦτα καὶ τηλι-
καῦτα διαπεπραγμένον οὐκ οἴει πολλὴν μωρίαν
καταγνώσεσθαι τοῦ πέμψαντος τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ
πολὺ διεψεῦσθαι νομιεῖν τῆς τε τῶν λόγων δυνά-
22 μεως καὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ διανοίας;" ταῦτ' ἀκούσας
ὡς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην, καὶ πάλιν ὡς
ἀναλαβὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἀντεῖπον πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν
ῥηθέντων, παραλείψω, μὴ καὶ δόξω τισὶ λίαν
ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ χαριέντως αὐτοὺς ἠμυνάμην· λυπήσας
δ' οὖν μετρίως (ὡς ἐμαυτὸν ἔπειθον) τοὺς ἐπι-
πλῆξαί μοι τολμήσαντας, τελευτῶν ὑπεσχόμην
μόνοις αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δείξειν,
καὶ ποιήσειν οὐδὲν ἄλλο περὶ αὐτοῦ πλὴν ὅ τι ἂν
23 ἐκείνοις δόξῃ. τούτων ἀκούσαντες ἀπῆλθον, οὐκ
[87] οἶδ' ὅπως τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες. πλὴν οὐ πολλαῖς
ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἐπιτελεσθέντος τοῦ λόγου καὶ
δειχθέντος αὐτοῖς τοσοῦτον μετέπεσον, ὥστ' ᾐσχύ-
νοντο μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἐθρασύναντο, μετέμελε δ' αὐτοῖς
ἁπάντων τῶν εἰρημένων, ὡμολόγουν δὲ μηδενὸς
πώποτε τοσοῦτον πράγματος διαμαρτεῖν, ἔσπευδον

[a] For these early conquests of Philip see Grote, *Hist.* xi. p. 18.

his own fellow-countrymen? And as to the cities which are in that region, has he not drawn some of them by his benefactions into an alliance with him; and others, which sorely tried him, has he not razed to the ground? Has he not overthrown the Magnesians and the Perrhaebians and the Paeonians, and taken them all under his yoke? Has he not made himself lord and ruler of most of the Illyrians—all save those who dwell along the Adriatic? Has he not set over all Thrace such masters as he pleased?[a] Do you not, then, think that the man who has achieved such great things will pronounce the sender of this pamphlet a great simpleton, and will consider that he was utterly deluded both as to the power of his words and his own insight?" Now, how on hearing these words I was at first dumbfounded, and how later, after I had recovered myself, I replied to each of their objections, I will forbear to relate, lest I should appear in the eyes of some to be too well-satisfied with the clever manner in which I met their attack. But, at any rate, after I had first rebuked with moderation, as I persuaded myself, those who had made bold to criticize me, I finally assured them that I would show the speech to no one else in the city but them, and that I would do nothing regarding it other than what they should approve. On hearing this they went their way, I know not in what state of mind. I only know that when, not many days later, the speech was completed and presented to them, they so completely reversed their attitude that they were ashamed of their former presumption and repented of all they had said, acknowledging that they had never been so mistaken about anything in all their lives. They were, in fact, more insistent than I

δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ 'γὼ πεμφθῆναί σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἔλεγον δ' ὡς ἐλπίζουσιν οὐ μόνον σὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἕξειν μοι χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας.

24 Τούτου δ' ἕνεκά σοι ταῦτα διῆλθον, ἵν' ἄν τί σοι φανῇ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων ἢ μὴ πιστὸν ἢ μὴ δυνατὸν ἢ μὴ πρέπον σοι πράττειν, μὴ δυσχεράνας ἀποστῇς τῶν λοιπῶν, μηδὲ πάθῃς ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπιμείνῃς ἡσυχάζουσαν ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἕως ἂν διὰ τέλους ἀκούσῃς ἁπάντων τῶν λεγομένων. οἶμαι γὰρ ἐρεῖν τι τῶν
25 δεόντων καὶ τῶν σοὶ συμφερόντων. καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν ὅσον διαφέρουσι τῶν λόγων εἰς τὸ πείθειν οἱ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἀναγιγνωσκομένων, οὐδ' ὅτι πάντες ὑπειλήφασι τοὺς μὲν περὶ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων καὶ κατεπειγόντων ῥητορεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ πρὸς ἐργολαβίαν γεγράφθαι.
26 καὶ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐγνώκασιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ λόγος ἀποστερηθῇ τῆς τε δόξης τῆς τοῦ λέγοντος καὶ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥητορείαις γιγνομένων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ μηδὲν ᾖ τὸ συναγωνιζόμενον καὶ συμπεῖθον, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἁπάντων ἔρημος γένηται καὶ γυμνός, ἀναγιγνώσκῃ δέ τις αὐτὸν ἀπιθάνως καὶ μηδὲν ἦθος ἐνσημαινόμενος ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπαριθμῶν,
27 εἰκότως, οἶμαι, φαῦλος εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἅπερ καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐπιδεικνύμενον μάλιστ' ἂν

[a] *Cf. Epist.* i. 2-3. See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 67.

that this speech should be sent to you, and prophesied that not only would you and Athens be grateful to me for what I had said but all Hellas as well.

My purpose in recounting all this is that if, in what I say at the beginning, anything strikes you as incredible, or impracticable, or unsuitable for you to carry out, you may not be prejudiced and turn away from the rest of my discourse, and that you may not repeat the experience of my friends, but may wait with an open mind until you hear to the end all that I have to say. For I think that I shall propose something which is in line with both your duty and your advantage. And yet I do not fail to realize what a great difference there is in persuasiveness between discourses which are spoken and those which are to be read, and that all men have assumed that the former are delivered on subjects which are important and urgent, while the latter are composed for display and personal gain.[a] And this is a natural conclusion; for when a discourse is robbed of the prestige of the speaker, the tones of his voice, the variations which are made in the delivery, and, besides, of the advantages of timeliness and keen interest in the subject matter; when it has not a single accessory to support its contentions and enforce its plea, but is deserted and stripped of all the aids which I have mentioned; and when someone reads it aloud without persuasiveness and without putting any personal feeling into it, but as though he were repeating a table of figures,—in these circumstances it is natural, I think, that it should make an indifferent impression upon its hearers. And these are the very circumstances which may detract most seriously also from the discourse which is now presented to you

βλάψειε καὶ φαυλότερον φαίνεσθαι ποιήσειεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῖς περὶ τὴν λέξιν εὐρυθμίαις καὶ ποικιλίαις κεκοσμήκαμεν αὐτόν, αἷς αὐτός τε νεώτερος ὢν ἐχρώμην, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπέδειξα δι' ὧν τοὺς λόγους ἡδίους ἂν ἅμα καὶ πιστοτέρους
28 ποιοῖεν. ὧν οὐδὲν ἔτι δύναμαι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν,
[88] ἀλλ' ἀπόχρη μοι τοσοῦτον, ἢν αὐτὰς τὰς πράξεις ἁπλῶς δυνηθῶ διελθεῖν. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ σοὶ προσήκειν ἁπάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντι ταύταις μόναις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὕτω δ' ἂν ἀκριβέστατα καὶ κάλλιστα θεωρήσειας εἴ τι τυγ-
29 χάνομεν λέγοντες, ἢν τὰς μὲν δυσχερείας τὰς περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀναγιγνωσκομένους τῶν λόγων ἀφέλῃς, ἀναλαμβάνων δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξετάζῃς, μὴ πάρεργον ποιούμενος μηδὲ μετὰ ῥᾳθυμίας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ λογισμοῦ καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἧς καὶ σὲ μετεσχηκέναι φασίν. μετὰ γὰρ τούτων σκοπούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν δόξης ἄμεινον ἂν βουλεύσαιο περὶ αὐτῶν.

30 Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐβουλόμην σοι προειρῆσθαι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. περὶ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους.

Φημὶ γὰρ χρῆναί σε τῶν μὲν ἰδίων μηδενὸς ἀμελῆσαι, πειραθῆναι δὲ διαλλάξαι τήν τε πόλιν τὴν Ἀργείων καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν. ἢν γὰρ ταύτας

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[a] See *Panath.* 1, 2.

[b] *αἱ δυσχέρειαι* may mean difficulties or disadvantages under which speeches labour which are composed for a reading public, or the prejudices against them caused by these disadvantages. The latter seems to be the sense here. See Benseler's note.

and cause it to impress you as a very indifferent performance; the more so since I have not adorned it with the rhythmic flow and manifold graces of style which I myself employed when I was younger[a] and taught by example to others as a means by which they might make their oratory more pleasing and at the same time more convincing. For I have now no longer any capacity for these things because of my years; it is enough for me if I can only set before you in a simple manner the actual facts. And I think it becomes you also to ignore all else and give your attention to the facts alone. But you will be in the best position to discover with accuracy whether there is any truth in what I say if you put aside the prejudices[b] which are held against the sophists and against speeches which are composed to be read, and take them up one by one in your thought and scrutinize them, not making it a casual task, nor one to be attacked in a spirit of indifference, but with the close reasoning and love of knowledge which it is common report that you also share.[c] For if you will conduct your inquiry with these aids instead of relying upon the opinion of the masses, you will form a sounder judgement about such discourses.

This, then, completes what I wanted to say by way of introduction. I shall now proceed with the subject in hand.

I affirm that, without neglecting any of your own interests, you ought to make an effort to reconcile Argos and Lacedaemon and Thebes and Athens;[d]

[c] "Isocrates addressed him (Philip) as a friend of letters and philosophy: a reputation which his choice of Aristotle as an instructor of his son, Alexander, tends to bear out" (Grote, *Hist.* xi. p. 325).

[d] The leading states. *Cf. Paneg.* 64.

συστῆσαι δυνηθῆς, οὐ χαλεπῶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
31 ὁμονοεῖν ποιήσεις· ἅπασαι γάρ εἰσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς εἰρη-
μέναις, καὶ καταφεύγουσιν, ὅταν φοβηθῶσιν, ἐφ'
ἣν ἂν τύχωσι τούτων, καὶ τὰς βοηθείας ἐντεῦθεν
λαμβάνουσιν. ὥστ' ἐὰν τέτταρας μόνον πόλεις εὖ
φρονεῖν πείσῃς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολλῶν κακῶν
ἀπαλλάξεις.

32 Γνοίης δ' ἂν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς σοι προσήκει τούτων
ὀλιγωρεῖν, ἢν ἀνενέγκῃς αὐτῶν τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ
τοὺς σοὺς προγόνους· εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἑκάστῃ πολλὴν
φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεγάλας εὐεργεσίας ὑπ-
αρχούσας. Ἄργος μὲν γάρ ἐστί σοι πατρίς, ἧς
δίκαιον τοσαύτην σε ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν ὅσην περ
τῶν γονέων τῶν σαυτοῦ· Θηβαῖοι δὲ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν
τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τιμῶσι καὶ ταῖς προσόδοις καὶ
ταῖς θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους·
33 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνου γεγονόσι καὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν
[89] χρόνον δεδώκασι· τὴν δὲ πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν φασίν,
οἷς περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πιστεύομεν, Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν
συναιτίαν γενέσθαι τῆς ἀθανασίας (ὃν δὲ τρόπον,
σοὶ μὲν αὖθις πυθέσθαι ῥᾴδιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ νῦν εἰπεῖν
οὐ καιρός), τοῖς δὲ παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῆς σωτηρίας.
34 μόνη γὰρ ὑποστᾶσα τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους πρὸς
τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν ἐκεῖνόν τε τῆς ὕβρεως

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[a] Perdiccas I., the founder of the Argive dynasty in Macedonia, was, according to Herod. viii. 137, a descendant of the Argive hero Temenus. See also Herod. v. 22 and Grote, *Hist.* iii. p. 432.

[b] Heracles. See General Introd. p. xli.

for if you can bring these cities together, you will not find it hard to unite the others as well; for all the rest are under the protection of the aforesaid cities, and fly for refuge, when they are alarmed, to one or other of these powers, and they all draw upon them for succour. So that if you can persuade four cities only to take a sane view of things, you will deliver the others also from many evils.

Now you will realize that it is not becoming in you to disregard any of these cities if you will review their conduct in relation to your ancestors; for you will find that each one of them is to be credited with great friendship and important services to your house: Argos is the land of your fathers,[a] and is entitled to as much consideration at your hands as are your own ancestors; the Thebans honour the founder [b] of your race, both by processionals and by sacrifices,[c] beyond all the other gods; the Lacedaemonians have conferred upon his descendants the kingship and the power of command [d] for all time; and as for our city, we are informed by those whom we credit in matters of ancient history that she aided Heracles to win his immortality [e] (in what way you can easily learn at another time; it would be unseasonable for me to relate it now), and that she aided his children to preserve their lives.[f] Yes, Athens single-handed sustained the greatest dangers against the power of Eurystheus, put an end to his

[c] At the "Festival of Heracles." Xen. *Hell* vi. 4. 7; Diodor. xv. 53.

[d] See *Paneg.* 62 and note.

[e] According to Diodor. iv. 39 the Athenians were the first to offer sacrifices to Heracles as a god.

[f] For this statement and the following paragraph see *Paneg.* 56-62.

ἔπαυσε, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν φόβων τῶν ἀεὶ παραγιγνομένων αὐτοῖς ἀπήλλαξεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ μόνον τοὺς τότε σωθέντας δίκαιον ἦν ἡμῖν χάριν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς νῦν ὄντας· διὰ γὰρ ἡμᾶς καὶ ζῶσι καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύουσι· μὴ γὰρ σωθέντων ἐκείνων οὐδὲ γενέσθαι τὸ παράπαν ὑπῆρχεν αὐτοῖς.

35 Τοιούτων οὖν ἁπασῶν τῶν πόλεων γεγενημένων ἔδει μὲν μηδέποτέ σοι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι διαφοράν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἅπαντες πλείω πεφύκαμεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἢ κατορθοῦν. ὥστε τὰ μὲν πρότερον γεγενημένα κοινὰ θεῖναι δίκαιόν ἐστιν· εἰς δὲ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον φυλακτέον ὅπως μηδὲν συμβήσεταί σοι τοιοῦτον, καὶ σκεπτέον τί ἂν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὰς ἐργασάμενος φανείης ἄξια καὶ σαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείναις πεπραγμένων πεποιηκώς.
36 ἔχεις δὲ καιρόν· ἀποδιδόντα γάρ σε χάριν ὧν ὤφειλες ὑπολήψονται διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ μεταξὺ προϋπάρχειν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν. καλὸν δ' ἐστὶ δοκεῖν μὲν τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων εὖ ποιεῖν, μηδὲν δ' ἧττον ἑαυτὸν ἢ 'κείνας ὠφελεῖν.
37 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ πρός τινας αὐτῶν ἀηδές τί σοι συμβέβηκεν, ἅπαντα ταῦτα διαλύσεις· αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς εὐεργεσίαι λήθην ἐμποιήσουσι[1] τῶν πρότερον ὑμῖν εἰς ἀλλήλους πεπλημμελημένων. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνο φανερόν, ὅτι πάντες ἄνθρωποι τούτων πλείστην μνείαν ἔχουσιν, ὧν ἂν ἐν ταῖς

[1] ἐμποιοῦσι MSS.

insolence, and freed Heracles' sons from the fears by which they were continually beset. Because of these services we deserve the gratitude, not only of those who then were preserved from destruction, but also of those who are now living; for to us it is due both that they are alive and that they enjoy the blessings which are now theirs, since they never could have seen the light of day at all had not the sons of Heracles been preserved from death.

Therefore, seeing that these cities have each and all shown such a spirit, no quarrel should ever have arisen between you and any one of them. But unfortunately we are all prone by nature to do wrong more often than right; and so it is fair to charge the mistakes of the past to our common weakness. Yet for the future you must be on your guard to prevent a like occurrence, and must consider what service you can render them which will make it manifest that you have acted in a manner worthy both of yourself and of what these cities have done. And the opportunity now serves you; for you would only be repaying the debt of gratitude which you owed them, but, because so much time has elapsed, they will credit you with being first in friendly offices. And it is a good thing to have the appearance of conferring benefits upon the greatest states of Hellas and at the same time to profit yourself no less than them. But apart from this, if anything unpleasant has arisen between you and any of them, you will wipe it out completely; for friendly acts in the present crisis will make you forget the wrongs which you have done each other in the past. Yes, and this also is beyond question, that all men hold in fondest memory those benefits which they receive

38 συμφοραῖς εὖ πάθωσιν. ὁρᾷς δ' ὡς τεταλαι-
πώρηνται διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ὡς παραπλησίως
ἔχουσι τοῖς ἰδίᾳ μαχομένοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους
αὐξομένης μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς οὐδεὶς ἂν διαλλάξειεν·
ἐπὴν δὲ κακῶς ἀλλήλους διαθῶσιν, οὐδενὸς δια-
[90] λύοντος αὐτοὶ διέστησαν. ὅπερ οἶμαι καὶ ταύτας
ποιήσειν, ἢν μὴ σὺ πρότερον αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῇς.

39 Τάχ' οὖν ἄν τις ἐνστῆναι τοῖς εἰρημένοις τολ-
μήσειε, λέγων ὡς ἐπιχειρῶ σε πείθειν ἀδυνάτοις
ἐπιτίθεσθαι πράγμασιν· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀργείους φίλους
ἄν ποτε γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔτε Λακεδαι-
μονίους Θηβαίοις, οὔθ' ὅλως τοὺς εἰθισμένους
ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον πλεονεκτεῖν οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἰσομοι-
40 ρῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐγὼ δ', ὅτε μὲν ἡ πόλις
ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδυνάστευε καὶ πάλιν ἡ
Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡγοῦμαι περανθῆναι τού-
των· ῥᾳδίως γὰρ ἂν ἑκατέραν ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι
τοῖς πραττομένοις· νῦν δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἔγνωκα
περὶ αὐτῶν. οἶδα γὰρ ἁπάσας ὡμαλισμένας ὑπὸ
τῶν συμφορῶν, ὥσθ' ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὰς
αἱρήσεσθαι τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμονοίας ὠφελείας ἢ τὰς
41 ἐκ τῶν τότε πραττομένων πλεονεξίας. ἔπειτα
τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὁμολογῶ μηδέν' ἂν δυνηθῆναι
διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας, σοὶ δ' οὐδὲν τῶν
τοιούτων ἐστὶ χαλεπόν. ὁρῶ γάρ σε τῶν τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἀνελπίστων δοκούντων εἶναι καὶ παραδόξων

[a] The following paragraphs betray a cynicism which is foreign to the *Paneg.* See General Introd. p. xxxvi.

[b] *Cf.* 8 and *Paneg.* 17.

in times of trouble. And you see how utterly wretched these states have become because of their warfare, and how like they are to men engaged in a personal encounter; for no one can reconcile the parties to a quarrel while their wrath is rising; but after they have punished each other badly, they need no mediator, but separate of their own accord. And that is just what I think these states also will do unless you first take them in hand.

Now perhaps someone will venture to object to what I have proposed, saying that I am trying to persuade you to set yourself to an impossible task, since the Argives could never be friendly to the Lacedaemonians, nor the Lacedaemonians to the Thebans, and since, in general, those who have been accustomed throughout their whole existence to press their own selfish interests can never share and share alike with each other. Well, I myself do not believe that at the time when our city was the first power in Hellas, or again when Lacedaemon occupied that position, any such result could have been accomplished,[a] since the one or the other of these two cities could easily have blocked the attempt; but as things are now, I am not of the same mind regarding them. For I know that they have all been brought down to the same level by their misfortunes, and so I think that they would much prefer the mutual advantages which would come from a unity of purpose to the selfish gains which accrued from their policy in those days.[b] Furthermore, while I grant that no one else in the world could reconcile these cities, yet nothing of the sort is difficult for you; for I see that you have carried through to a successful end many undertakings which the rest of the world looked upon as

πολλὰ διαπεπραγμένον, ὥστ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἰ καὶ
ταῦτα μόνος συστῆσαι δυνηθείης. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς
μέγα φρονοῦντας καὶ τοὺς διαφέροντας μὴ τοῖς
τοιούτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν ἃ καὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἄν τις
καταπράξειεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνοις οἷς μηδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος
ἐπιχειρήσειε πλὴν τῶν ὁμοίαν σοὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν
καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐχόντων.

42 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀδύνατον εἶναι
πραχθῆναί τι τούτων, εἰ μήτ᾽ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν
εἰδότες μήθ᾽ ἑτέρων ἀκηκόασιν ὅτι πολλοὶ δὴ
πόλεμοι καὶ δεινοὶ γεγόνασιν, οὓς οἱ διαλυσάμενοι
μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἀλλήλοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν.
τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς
Ξέρξην τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενομένης; οὗ τὴν φιλίαν
ἅπαντες ἴσασιν ἡμᾶς τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον
ἀγαπήσαντας ἢ τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων ἑκατέ-
43 ροις ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν τὰ παλαιὰ
καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους; ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἀθρήσειε
καὶ σκέψαιτο τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοράς, οὐδὲν
ἂν μέρος οὖσαι φανεῖεν τῶν διὰ Θηβαίους καὶ
[91] Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν γεγενημένων. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν
ἧττον Λακεδαιμονίων τε στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Θη-
βαίους, καὶ βουλομένων λυμήνασθαι τὴν Βοιωτίαν
καὶ διοικίσαι τὰς πόλεις, βοηθήσαντες ἡμεῖς ἐμπο-
44 δὼν ἐγενόμεθα ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμίαις· καὶ πάλιν
μεταπεσούσης τῆς τύχης, καὶ Θηβαίων καὶ Πελο-

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[a] The expression is loose. He means that the hatred for Persia under Xerxes changed to friendship under Artaxerxes when the Peace of Antalcidas was made. *Cf.* Sparta's " love " for Persia mentioned in *Panath.* 102, 103.

[b] Especially at the close of the Peloponnesian War. See *Plataicus* 31 ; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 5. 8.

hopeless and unthinkable, and therefore it would be nothing strange if you should be able single-handed to effect this union. In fact, men of high purposes and exceptional gifts ought not to undertake enterprises which any of the common run might carry out with success, but rather those which no one would attempt save men with endowments and power such as you possess.

But I marvel that those who think that none of these proposals could possibly be carried out are not aware, either by their own knowledge or by tradition, that there have been many terrible wars after which the participants have come to an understanding and rendered great services to one another. For what could exceed the enmity which the Hellenes felt toward Xerxes? Yet everyone knows that we and the Lacedaemonians came to prize his friendship [a] more than that of those who helped us to establish our respective empires. But why speak of ancient history, or of our dealings with the barbarians? If one should scan and review the misfortunes of the Hellenes in general, these will appear as nothing in comparison with those which we Athenians have experienced through the Thebans and the Lacedaemonians.[b] Nevertheless, when the Lacedaemonians took the field against the Thebans and were minded to humiliate Boeotia and break up the league of her cities, we sent a relief expedition [c] and thwarted the desires of the Lacedaemonians. And again, when fortune shifted her favour [d] and the Thebans and the

[c] Under Chabrias, against Agesilaus, 378 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* v. 4; Grote, *Hist.* ix. p. 343.

[d] Thebes became the supreme power in Greece by the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.

ποννησίων ἁπάντων ἐπιχειρησάντων ἀνάστατον ποιῆσαι τὴν Σπάρτην, ἡμεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιησάμενοι συμμαχίαν συν-
45 αίτιοι τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς κατέστημεν. πολλῆς οὖν ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη μεστός, εἴ τις ὁρῶν τηλικαύτας μεταβολὰς γιγνομένας, καὶ τὰς πόλεις μήτ' ἔχθρας μήθ' ὅρκων μήτ' ἄλλου μηδενὸς φροντιζούσας, πλὴν ὅ τι ἂν ὑπολάβωσιν ὠφέλιμον αὑταῖς εἶναι, τοῦτο δὲ στεργούσας μόνον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σπουδὴν περὶ τούτου ποιουμένας, μὴ καὶ νῦν νομίζοι τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἕξειν αὐτάς, ἄλλως τε καὶ σοῦ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντος ταῖς διαλλαγαῖς, τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος πείθοντος, τῶν δὲ παρόντων κακῶν ἀναγκαζόντων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τούτων σοι συναγωνιζομένων ἅπαντα γενήσεσθαι κατὰ τρόπον.

46 Ἡγοῦμαι δ' οὕτως ἄν σε μάλιστα καταμαθεῖν εἴτ' εἰρηνικῶς εἴτε πολεμικῶς αἱ πόλεις αὗται πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔχουσιν, εἰ διεξέλθοιμεν μήτε παντάπασιν ἁπλῶς μήτε λίαν ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρόντων αὐταῖς. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν σκεψώμεθα τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

47 Οὗτοι γὰρ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων (οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ) καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰς τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἦλθον, ἐπειδὴ τὴν μάχην ἡττήθησαν τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις, ὥστε ἀπεστερήθησαν μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δυναστείας, τοιούτους δ' ἄνδρας ἀπώλεσαν σφῶν αὐτῶν, οἳ προῃροῦντο τεθνάναι μᾶλλον

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[a] 361 B.C.

[b] In 362 B.C., when Epaminondas, at the head of the Thebans and their allies, including the Argives, Arcadians, Messenians, and the Eleans, marched on Sparta to destroy her, the Athenians dispatched Iphicrates with an army of

Peloponnesians were one and all trying to devastate Lacedaemon, we alone among the Hellenes formed an alliance[a] with the Lacedaemonians and helped to save them from destruction.[b] So then, seeing that such great reversals are wont to occur, and that our states care nothing about their former enmities or about their oaths or about anything else save what they conceive to be expedient for themselves, and that expediency is the sole object to which they give their affections and devote all their zeal, no man, unless obsessed by utter folly, could fail to believe that now also they will show the same disposition, especially if you take the lead in their reconciliation, while selfish interests urge and present ills constrain them to this course. I, for my part, believe that, with these influences fighting on your side, everything will turn out as it should.

But I think that you can get most light on the question whether these cities are inclined toward peace with each other or toward war, if I review, not merely in general terms nor yet with excessive detail, the principal facts in their present situation. And first of all, let us consider the condition of the Lacedaemonians.

The Lacedaemonians were the leaders of the Hellenes,[c] not long ago, on both land and sea, and yet they suffered so great a reversal of fortune when they met defeat at Leuctra that they were deprived of their power over the Hellenes, and lost such of their warriors as chose to die rather than survive

twelve thousand to the rescue. See *Peace* 105; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 23 ff.; Grote, *Hist.* x. pp. 89 ff.

[c] The hegemony of Sparta lasted from the battle of Aegospotami, 405 B.C., to the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.

48 ἢ ζῆν ἡττηθέντες ὧν πρότερον ἐδέσποζον. πρὸς
δὲ τούτοις ἐπεῖδον Πελοποννησίους ἅπαντας τοὺς
πρότερον μεθ' αὑτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀκολου-
θοῦντας, τούτους μετὰ Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν
εἰσβαλόντας, πρὸς οὓς ἠναγκάσθησαν διακινδυ-
νεύειν οὐκ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περὶ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν
μέσῃ τῇ πόλει πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀρχείοις περὶ
παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, τοιοῦτον κίνδυνον ὃν μὴ
[92] κατορθώσαντες μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπώλλυντο, νικήσαντες
49 δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπηλλαγμένοι τῶν κακῶν εἰσιν,
ἀλλὰ πολεμοῦνται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν χώραν αὑτῶν
περιοικούντων, ἀπιστοῦνται δ' ὑφ' ἁπάντων Πελο-
ποννησίων, μισοῦνται δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, ἄγονται δὲ καὶ φέρονται καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς
καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν σφετέρων
αὐτῶν, οὐδένα δὲ χρόνον διαλείπουσιν ἢ στρα-
τεύοντες ἐπί τινας ἢ μαχόμενοι πρός τινας ἢ βοη-
50 θοῦντες τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις αὑτῶν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον
τῶν κακῶν· δεδιότες γὰρ διατελοῦσι μὴ Θηβαῖοι
διαλυσάμενοι τὰ πρὸς Φωκέας πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες
μείζοσιν αὐτοὺς συμφοραῖς περιβάλωσι τῶν πρό-
τερον γεγενημένων. καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ νομίζειν
τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἀσμένους ἂν ἰδεῖν ἐπι-
στατοῦντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀξιόχρεων ἄνδρα καὶ δυνά-
μενον διαλῦσαι τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας πολέμους αὐτοῖς;

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[a] Epaminondas (see 44 and note) actually entered Sparta. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 11.

[b] The Argives and the Messenians were allied with Philip against Sparta. See Dem. *Philippic II.* 9, 15.

[c] Besides the Argives and Messenians, also the Arcadians, the Megalopolitans, the Eleans, and the Sicyonians. Diod. xvi. 39.

defeat at the hands of those over whom they had once been masters. Furthermore, they were obliged to look on while all the Peloponnesians, who formerly had followed the lead of Lacedaemon against the rest of the world, united with the Thebans and invaded their territory; and against these the Lacedaemonians were compelled to risk battle, not in the country to save the crops, but in the heart of the city,[a] before the very seat of their government, to save their wives and children—a crisis in which defeat meant instant destruction, and victory has none the more delivered them from their ills; nay, they are now warred upon by their neighbours [b]; they are distrusted by all the Peloponnesians [c]; they are hated by most of the Hellenes [d]; they are harried and plundered day and night by their own serfs [e]; and not a day passes that they do not have to take the field or fight against some force or other, or march to the rescue of their perishing comrades. But the worst of their afflictions is that they live in continual fear that the Thebans may patch up their quarrel with the Phocians [f] and, returning again,[g] ring them about with still greater calamities than have befallen them in the past. How, then, can we refuse to believe that people so hard pressed would gladly see at the head of a movement for peace a man who commands confidence and has the power to put an end to the wars in which they are involved?

[d] Especially by the Athenians and the Thebans. Dem. *Megal.* 22, 23.

[e] The Helots.

[f] Thebes was the principal enemy of the Phocians in the Sacred War, which was now drawing to a close. For this war see Grote, *Hist.* xi. p. 45.

[g] As in the campaign referred to in 44, which ended with the battle of Mantinea.

51 Ἀργείους τοίνυν ἴδοις ἂν τὰ μὲν παραπλησίως
τοῖς εἰρημένοις πράττοντας, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον τούτων
ἔχοντας· πολεμοῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὗ περ τὴν πόλιν
οἰκοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρουσιν ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν πρὸς
ἥττους αὑτῶν, οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς κρείττους· ὃ πάντες
ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν κακῶν. οὕτω
δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου δεῖν
καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τεμνομένην καὶ πορθου-
52 μένην τὴν αὑτῶν χώραν περιορῶσιν. ὃ δὲ πάντων
δεινότατον· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι διαλίπωσι κακῶς
αὐτοὺς ποιοῦντες, αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ
πλουσιωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύουσι, καὶ ταῦτα
δρῶντες οὕτω χαίρουσιν ὡς οὐδένες ἄλλοι τοὺς
πολεμίους ἀποκτείνοντες. αἴτιον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ ταρα-
χωδῶς αὐτοὺς ζῆν οὕτως οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ὁ
πόλεμος· ὃν ἢν διαλύσῃς, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τούτων
ἀπαλλάξεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον
βουλεύεσθαι ποιήσεις.

53 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ περὶ Θηβαίους οὐδὲ σὲ λέληθεν.
καλλίστην γὰρ μάχην νικήσαντες, καὶ δόξαν ἐξ
αὐτῆς μεγίστην λαβόντες, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς χρῆ-
σθαι ταῖς εὐτυχίαις οὐδὲν βέλτιον πράττουσι τῶν
ἡττηθέντων καὶ δυστυχησάντων. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν
[93] τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρατήσαντες, καὶ πάντων ἀμελή-

[a] The Spartans.

[b] This was done by the Spartans six years before this. Diod. xvi. 39.

[c] The conflict between democracy and oligarchy, which raged with varying intensity in most of the Greek cities, in Argos was most bitter. In 371 B.C. occurred a massacre in which twelve hundred of the leading men were slain by the mob. Diod. xv. 57, 58 ; Grote, *Hist.* ix. p. 417.

Now as to the Argives, you will see that in some respects they are no better off than the Lacedaemonians, while in others their condition is worse; for they have been in a state of war with their neighbours [a] from the day they founded their city, just as have the Lacedaemonians; but there is this difference, that the neighbours of the Lacedaemonians are weaker than they, while those of the Argives are stronger—a condition which all would admit to be the greatest of misfortunes. And so unsuccessful are they in their warfare that hardly a year passes that they are not compelled to witness their own territory being ravaged and laid waste.[b] But what is most deplorable of all is that, during the intervals when their enemies cease from harrying them, they themselves put to death the most eminent and wealthy of their citizens; [c] and they have more pleasure in doing this than any other people have in slaying their foes. The cause of their living in such disorder is none other than the state of war; and if you can put a stop to this, you will not only deliver them from these evils but you will cause them to adopt a better policy with respect to their other interests as well.

And as for the condition of the Thebans, surely you have not failed to note that also. They won a splendid victory [d] and covered themselves with glory, but because they did not make good use of their success they are now in no better case than those who have suffered defeat and failure. For no sooner had they triumphed over their foes than, neglecting everything else, they began to annoy

[d] Battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C.

σαντες ἠνώχλουν μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Θετταλίαν δ' ἐτόλμων καταδουλοῦσθαι, Μεγαρεῦσι δ' ὁμόροις οὖσιν ἠπείλουν, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν πόλιν μέρος τι τῆς χώρας ἀπεστέρουν, Εὔβοιαν δ' ἐπόρθουν, εἰς Βυζάντιον δὲ τριήρεις ἐξέπεμπον ὡς καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρξοντες.
54 τελευτῶντες δὲ πρὸς Φωκέας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν ὡς τῶν τε πόλεων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κρατήσοντες, τόν τε τόπον ἅπαντα τὸν περιέχοντα κατασχήσοντες, τῶν τε χρημάτων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς περιγενησόμενοι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δαπάναις. ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰς Φωκέων πόλεις τὰς αὑτῶν ἀπολωλέκασιν, εἰσβάλλοντες δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάττω κακὰ ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνους ἢ πάσχουσιν ἀπιόντες εἰς
55 τὴν αὑτῶν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ Φωκίδι τῶν μισθοφόρων τινὰς ἀποκτείνουσιν, οἷς λυσιτελεῖ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν, ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους αὑτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τολμῶντας ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθνήσκειν ἀπολλύουσιν. εἰς τοῦτο δ' αὐτῶν περιέστηκε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστ' ἐλπίσαντες ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑφ' αὑτοῖς ἔσεσθαι νῦν ἐν σοὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας. ὥστ' οἶμαι καὶ τούτους ταχέως ποιήσειν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς καὶ συμβουλεύῃς.

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[a] Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnese in 369, 368, 366, 362, stirring up the cities there against Sparta. Diod. xv. 62-75.

[b] By conquering Alexander of Pherae. Diod. xv. 67.

[c] The Megarians sided with Sparta when Agesilaus invaded Boeotia in 378. Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 41.

[d] The border town of Oropus, 366 B.C. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4. 1.

[e] See Dem. *On the Crown* 99.

the cities of the Peloponnese;[a] they made bold to reduce Thessaly to subjection;[b] they threatened their neighbours, the Megarians;[c] they robbed our city of a portion of its territory;[d] they ravaged Euboea;[e] they sent men-of-war to Byzantium,[f] as if they purposed to rule both land and sea; and, finally, they began war upon the Phocians,[g] expecting that in a short time they would conquer their cities, occupy all the surrounding territory, and prevail over all the treasures at Delphi[h] by the outlay of their own funds. But none of these hopes has been realized; instead of seizing the cities of the Phocians they have lost cities of their own;[i] and now when they invade the enemy's territory they inflict less damage upon them than they suffer when they are retreating to their own country; for while they are in Phocian territory they succeed in killing a few hireling[j] soldiers who are better off dead than alive, but when they retreat they lose of their own citizens those who are most esteemed and most ready to die for their fatherland. And so completely have their fortunes shifted, that whereas they once hoped that all Hellas would be subject to them, now they rest upon you[k] the hopes of their own deliverance. Therefore I think that the Thebans also will do with alacrity whatever you command or advise.

[f] One hundred ships under Epaminondas, 364 B.C. Diod. xv. 78, 79.

[g] Ten years. 356–346 B.C. See 50.

[h] The Phocians met their expenses in the war from the rich treasures in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.

[i] Orchomenus, Coroneia, Corsiae. Diod. xvi. 33-58.

[j] The Phocian forces were composed mainly of mercenaries.

[k] The war was concluded shortly after this by the intervention of Philip against the Phocians.

56 Λοιπὸν δ' ἂν ἦν ἡμῖν ἔτι περὶ τῆς πόλεως διαλεχθῆναι τῆς ἡμετέρας, εἰ μὴ προτέρα τῶν ἄλλων εὖ φρονήσασα τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεποίητο. νῦν δ' αὐτὴν οἶμαι καὶ συναγωνιεῖσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένοις, ἄλλως τε κἂν δυνηθῇ συνιδεῖν ὅτι ταῦτα διοικεῖς πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον στρατείας.

57 Ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀδύνατόν ἐστί σοι συστῆσαι τὰς πόλεις ταύτας, ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἡγοῦμαί σοι γεγενῆσθαι φανερόν· ἔτι τοίνυν ὡς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ταῦτα πράξεις, ἐκ πολλῶν παραδειγμάτων οἶμαί σε γνῶναι ποιήσειν. ἢν γὰρ φανῶσιν ἕτεροί τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων μὴ καλλίοσι μὲν μηδ' ὁσιωτέροις ὧν ἡμεῖς συμβεβουλεύκαμεν ἐπιχειρήσαντες, μείζω δὲ καὶ δυσκολώτερα τούτων ἐπιτελέσαντες, τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν ὡς οὐ θᾶττον σὺ [94] τὰ ῥᾴω πράξεις ἢ 'κεῖνοι τὰ χαλεπώτερα;

58 Σκέψαι δὲ πρῶτον τὰ περὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ φυγὼν παρ' ἡμῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ συμφορᾷ κεχρημένους ἐπτηχότας διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τὸ τῆς πόλεως, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχεν ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' οἰηθεὶς πειρατέον εἶναι βίᾳ κατελθεῖν προείλετο πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν.
59 καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν τῶν τότε γενομένων εἴ τις λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσειεν, οὔτ' ἂν διελθεῖν ἀκριβῶς δύναιτο, πρός τε τὸ παρὸν ἴσως ἂν ἐνοχλήσειεν·

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[a] For the career of the brilliant, unscrupulous Alcibiades see Grote, *Hist.* vi. pp. 301 ff., vii. 49 ff., and Plutarch, *Life of Alcibiades*.

[b] He was exiled on the charge of having profaned the Eleusinian Mysteries.

[c] For example, Themistocles.

[d] By stirring up and aiding, through his great personal

It would still remain for me to speak about our city, had she not come to her senses before the others and made peace; but now I need only say this: I think that she will join forces with you in carrying out your policy, especially if she can be made to see that your object is to prepare for the campaign against the barbarians.

That it is not, therefore, impossible for you to bring these cities together, I think has become evident to you from what I have said. But more than that, I believe I can convince you by many examples that it will also be easy for you to do this. For if it can be shown that other men in the past have undertaken enterprises which were not, indeed, more noble or more righteous than that which I have advised, but of greater magnitude and difficulty, and have actually brought them to pass, what ground will be left to my opponents to argue that you will not accomplish the easier task more quickly than other men the harder?

Consider first the exploits of Alcibiades.[a] Although he was exiled from Athens[b] and observed that the others who had before laboured under this misfortune had been cowed[c] because of the greatness of the city, yet he did not show the same submissive spirit as they; on the contrary, convinced that he must attempt to bring about his return by force, he deliberately chose to make war upon her.[d] Now if one should attempt to speak in detail of the events of that time, he would find it impossible to recount them all exactly, and for the present occasion the recital would perhaps prove wearisome. But so

influence and his sagacity, all the enemies of Athens in the Peloponnesian War.

εἰς τοσαύτην δὲ ταραχὴν κατέστησεν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς μὲν παθεῖν ἃ πάντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τηλικούτοις κακοῖς περιπεσεῖν,
60 ὥστε μηδέπω νῦν ἐξιτήλους εἶναι τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς δι' ἐκεῖνον τὸν πόλεμον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγγεγενημένας, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τοὺς τότε δόξαντας εὐτυχεῖν εἰς τὰς νῦν ἀτυχίας δι' Ἀλκιβιάδην καθεστάναι· πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς κατὰ θά-
61 λατταν δυνάμεως ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ὥστ' εἴ τις φαίη τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἐλάμβανον, οὐκ ἂν ἐξελεγχθείη ψευδόμενος. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν τηλικούτων αἴτιος γενόμενος κατῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μεγάλης μὲν δόξης τυχών, οὐ μὴν ἐπαινούμενος ὑφ' ἁπάντων.

Κόνων δ' οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἀντίστροφα
62 τούτων ἔπραξεν. ἀτυχήσας γὰρ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς συνάρχοντας, οἴκαδε μὲν ἀφικέσθαι κατῃσχύνθη, πλεύσας δ' εἰς Κύπρον χρόνον μέν τινα περὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν διέτριβεν, αἰσθόμενος δ' Ἀγησίλαον μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν

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[a] The defeat at Aegospotami, and after that the rule of the "thirty tyrants," and later the "decarchy."

[b] Under the rule of the decarchies described in *Paneg.* 111 ff.

[c] Isocrates does not much exaggerate the mischief he wrought in Greek affairs generally.

[d] For this play of words—ἀρχή "beginning," ἀρχή "dominion"—*cf. Paneg.* 119, *Nicocl.* 28, *Peace* 101.

[e] At length Alcibiades fell out with Athens' enemies, and began to intrigue in her favour; and so effectively did

great was the confusion into which he plunged not only Athens but Lacedaemon and all the rest of Hellas as well, that we, the Athenians, suffered what all the world knows ; [a] that the rest of the Hellenes fell upon such evil days that even now the calamities engendered in the several states by reason of that war are not yet forgotten ; [b] and that the Lacedaemonians, who then appeared to be at the height of their fortune, are reduced to their present state of misfortune,—all on account of Alcibiades.[c] For because they were persuaded by him to covet the sovereignty of the sea, they lost even their leadership on land ; so that if one were to assert that they became subject to the dominion of their present ills [d] when they attempted to seize the dominion of the sea, he could not be convicted of falsehood. Alcibiades, however, after having caused these great calamities, was restored to his city, having won a great reputation, though not, indeed, enjoying the commendation of all.[e]

The career of Conon,[f] not many years later, is a counterpart to that of Alcibiades. After his defeat in the naval engagement in the Hellespont,[g] for which not he but his fellow-commanders were responsible, he was too chagrined to return home ; instead he sailed to Cyprus, where he spent some time attending to his private interests.[h] But learning that Agesilaus had crossed over into Asia with

he work that his services were recognized at home and he was welcomed back to take again a leading part in the life of Athens, 408 B.C. There appears to have been no open opposition to his return. The many who distrusted him probably thought him less dangerous at home than in exile.

[f] See *Paneg.* 142 ff.

[g] The battle of Aegospotami.

[h] See *Evag.* 52 ff.

διαβεβηκότα καὶ πορθοῦντα τὴν χώραν οὕτω μέγ'
63 *ἐφρόνησεν, ὥστ' ἀφορμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄλλην ἔχων*
πλὴν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἤλπισε Λακεδαι-
μονίους καταπολεμήσειν ἄρχοντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ταῦτα
πέμπων ὡς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς ὑπισχνεῖτο
ποιήσειν. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πλείω λέγειν; συστάντος
γὰρ αὐτῷ ναυτικοῦ περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ νικήσας τῇ
[95] *ναυμαχίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς*
64 *ἀρχῆς, τοὺς δ' Ἕλληνας ἠλευθέρωσεν, οὐ μόνον*
δὲ τὰ τείχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνώρθωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν προήγαγεν ἐξ ἧσπερ
ἐξέπεσεν. καίτοι τίς ἂν προσεδόκησεν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς
οὕτω ταπεινῶς πράξαντος ἀναστραφήσεσθαι τὰ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος πράγματα, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτιμωθή-
σεσθαι τὰς δ' ἐπιπολάσειν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων;
65 *Διονύσιος τοίνυν (βούλομαι γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν σε*
πεισθῆναι ῥᾳδίαν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐφ' ἥν σε τυγ-
χάνω παρακαλῶν) πολλοστὸς ὢν Συρακοσίων καὶ
τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, ἐπι-
θυμήσας μοναρχίας ἀλόγως καὶ μανικῶς, καὶ τολ-
μήσας ἅπαντα πράττειν τὰ φέροντα πρὸς τὴν
δύναμιν ταύτην, κατέσχε μὲν Συρακούσας, ἁπά-
σας δὲ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεις, ὅσαι περ ἦσαν
Ἑλληνίδες, κατεστρέψατο, τηλικαύτην δὲ δύναμιν

[a] See 86, 87, and *Epist.* ix. 13, 14.

[b] Battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C. There is a dramatic significance in the fact that Conon fought in the battle of Aegospotami which gave Sparta the supremacy and in the battle of Cnidus which took it from her.

[c] From Spartan rule.

[d] He restored the walls which had been torn down as one of the terms imposed upon Athens after the battle of Aegospotami. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 9 ff.

a large force [a] and was ravaging the country, he was so dauntless of spirit that, although he possessed no resource whatever save his body and his wits, he was yet confident that he could conquer the Lacedaemonians, albeit they were the first power in Hellas on both land and sea; and, sending word to the generals of the Persian king, he promised that he would do this. What need is there to tell more of the story? For he collected a naval force off Rhodes, won a victory over the Lacedaemonians in a sea-fight,[b] deposed them from their sovereignty, and set the Hellenes free.[c] And not only did he rebuild the walls of his country,[d] but he restored Athens to the same high repute from which she had fallen. And yet who could have expected that a man whose own fortunes had fallen so low would completely reverse the fortunes of Hellas, degrading some of the Hellenic states from places of honour and raising others into prominence?

Again, there is the case of Dionysius [e] (for I desire you to be convinced by many instances that the course of action to which I am urging you is an easy one). He was a person of small account among the Syracusans in birth,[f] in reputation, and in all other respects; [g] yet, being inspired by a mad and unreasoning passion for monarchy, and having the hardihood to do anything which advanced him to this goal, he made himself master of Syracuse, conquered all the states in Sicily which were of Hellenic origin, and surrounded himself with a power

[e] Dionysius, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse, 406–367 B.C.

[f] See Diod. xiii. 96.

[g] Yet Isocrates once wrote to him a most respectful letter (*Epist.* i.).

περιεβάλετο καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ναυτικήν, ὅσην οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ τῶν πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένων.

66 Ἔτι τοίνυν Κῦρος (ἵνα μνησθῶμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν βαρβάρων) ἐκτεθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀναιρεθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ Περσίδος γυναικός, εἰς τοσαύτην ἦλθε μεταβολὴν ὥσθ' ἁπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας γενέσθαι δεσπότης.

67 Ὅπου δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν φυγὰς ὤν, Κόνων δὲ δεδυστυχηκώς, Διονύσιος δ' οὐκ ἔνδοξος ὤν, Κῦρος δ' οὕτως οἰκτρᾶς αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσεως ὑπαρξάσης, εἰς τοσοῦτον προῆλθον καὶ τηλικαῦτα διεπράξαντο, πῶς οὐ σέ γε χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τὸν ἐκ τοιούτων μὲν γεγονότα, Μακεδονίας δὲ βασιλεύοντα, τοσούτων δὲ κύριον ὄντα, ῥᾳδίως τὰ προειρημένα συστήσειν;

68 Σκέψαι δ' ὡς ἄξιόν ἐστι τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων μάλιστ' ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐν οἷς κατορθώσας μὲν ἐνάμιλλον τὴν σαυτοῦ δόξαν καταστήσεις τοῖς πρωτεύσασι, διαμαρτὼν δὲ τῆς προσδοκίας ἀλλ' οὖν τήν γ' εὔνοιαν κτήσει τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἣν πολὺ κάλλιόν ἐστι λαβεῖν ἢ πολλὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἑλληνίδων κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων φθόνον ἔχει καὶ δυσμένειαν καὶ πολλὰς βλασφημίας, οἷς δ' ἡμεῖς συμβεβουλεύκαμεν οὐδὲν
[96] πρόσεστι τούτων. ἀλλ' εἴ τις θεῶν αἵρεσίν σοι δοίη μετὰ ποίας ἂν ἐπιμελείας καὶ διατριβῆς εὔξαιο τὸν βίον διαγαγεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ἕλοι' ἄν, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ
69 συμβούλῳ χρῷο, μᾶλλον ἢ ταύτην. οὐ γὰρ μόνον

[a] A navy of three hundred and ten ships, Diod. xiv. 42, and an army of a hundred thousand men more or less, Diod. ii. 5.

[b] Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire, *Evag.* 37.

on both land and sea[a] greater than any man before his time had possessed.

Then again, Cyrus[b] (that we may take account of the barbarians also), notwithstanding the fact that as a child he was exposed by his mother on the public highway[c] and was picked up by a Persian woman,[d] so completely reversed his fortunes that he became master of all Asia.

Now if Alcibiades in exile, and Conon after a disastrous defeat, and Dionysius, a man of no repute, and Cyrus, with his pitiable start in life, advanced so far and achieved such mighty deeds, how can we fail to expect that you, who are sprung from such ancestors, who are king of Macedonia and master of so many peoples, will effect with ease this union which we have discussed?

Consider how worthy a thing it is to undertake, above all, deeds of such a character that if you succeed you will cause your own reputation to rival that of the foremost men of history, while if you fall short of your expectations you will at any rate win the good will of all the Hellenes—which is a better thing to gain than to take by force many Hellenic cities;[e] for achievements of the latter kind entail envy and hostility and much opprobrium, but that which I have urged entails none of these things. Nay, if some god were to give you the choice of the interests and the occupations in which you would wish to spend your life, you could not, at least if you took my advice, choose any in preference to this; for you will not only be envied of others,

[c] See 132 and Herod. i. 108. [d] Herod. i. 112 ff.

[e] *Cf. Epist.* ii. 21: "It is a much greater glory to capture the good will of states than their fortifications."

ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἔσει ζηλωτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ σαυτὸν
μακαριεῖς. τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς
τοιαύτης εὐδαιμονίας, ὅταν πρέσβεις μὲν ἥκωσιν
ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων οἱ μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦντες
εἰς τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων βουλεύῃ
περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, περὶ ἧς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος
70 φανήσεται τοιαύτην πρόνοιαν πεποιημένος, αἰσθάνῃ
δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ὀρθὴν οὖσαν ἐφ' οἷς σὺ τυγ-
χάνεις εἰσηγούμενος, μηδεὶς δ' ὀλιγώρως ἔχῃ τῶν
παρὰ σοὶ βραβευομένων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πυνθάνωνται
περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν οἷς ἐστίν, οἱ δ' εὔχωνταί σε μὴ δια-
μαρτεῖν ὧν ἐπεθύμησας, οἱ δὲ δεδίωσι μὴ πρό-
τερόν τι πάθῃς πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς πραττομέ-
71 νοις; ὧν γιγνομένων πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως μέγα
φρονοίης; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν περιχαρὴς ὢν τὸν βίον
διατελοίης, τηλικούτων εἰδὼς σαυτὸν πραγμάτων
ἐπιστάτην γεγενημένον; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν τῶν καὶ
μετρίως λογιζομένων ταύτας ἄν σοι παραινέσειε
μάλιστα προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν πράξεων, τὰς ἀμφότερα
φέρειν ἅμα δυναμένας, ὥσπερ καρπούς, ἡδονάς θ'
ὑπερβαλλούσας καὶ τιμὰς ἀνεξαλείπτους;

72 Ἀπέχρη δ' ἂν ἤδη μοι τὰ προειρημένα περὶ
τούτων, εἰ μὴ παραλελοιπὼς ἦν τινα λόγον, οὐκ ἀ-
μνημονήσας ἀλλ' ὀκνήσας εἰπεῖν, ὃν ἤδη μοι δοκῶ
δηλώσειν· οἶμαι γὰρ σοί τε συμφέρειν ἀκοῦσαι
περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐμοί τε προσήκειν μετὰ παρρησίας (ὥσ-
περ εἴθισμαι) ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους.

73 Αἰσθάνομαι γάρ σε διαβαλλόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σοὶ
μὲν φθονούντων, τὰς δὲ πόλεις τὰς αὑτῶν εἰθισμέ-

[a] Demosthenes and his party. On Isocrates and Demosthenes see Havet, Introd. to Cartelier's *Antid.* pp. xlviii ff.

but you will also count yourself a happy man. For what good fortune could then surpass your own? Men of the highest renown will come as ambassadors from the greatest states to your court; you will advise with them about the general welfare, for which no other man will be found to have shown a like concern; you will see all Hellas on tiptoe with interest in whatever you happen to propose; and no one will be indifferent to the measures which are being decided in your councils, but, on the contrary, some will seek news of how matters stand, some will pray that you will not be thwarted in your aims, and others will fear lest something befall you before your efforts are crowned with success. If all this should come to pass, would you not have good reason to be proud? Would you not rejoice throughout your life in the knowledge that you had been a leader in such great affairs? And what man that is even moderately endowed with reason would not exhort you to fix your choice above all upon that course of action which is capable of bearing at one and the same time the twofold fruits, if I may so speak, of surpassing joys and of imperishable honours?

Now I should content myself with what I have already said on this topic, had I not passed over a certain matter—not that it slipped my memory, but because I hesitated to speak of it—which I am now resolved to disclose to you. For I think that it is profitable for you to hear about it, and that it is becoming in me to speak, as I am wont to do, without reserve.

I observe that you are being painted in false colours by men who are jealous of you,[a] for one thing, and are, besides, in the habit of stirring up

νων εἰς ταραχὰς καθιστάναι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὴν
τοῖς ἄλλοις κοινὴν πόλεμον τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις εἶναι
νομιζόντων, οἳ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελήσαντες
περὶ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτην αὐξάνεται, καὶ σὺ πολὺν
74 χρόνον ἤδη πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύεις, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν
μέλλεις Μεσσηνίοις βοηθεῖν, ἐὰν τὰ περὶ Φωκεῖς
[97] διοικήσῃς, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ σαυτῷ ποιεῖσθαι Πελοπόν-
νησον· ὑπάρχουσι δέ σοι Θετταλοὶ μὲν καὶ Θηβαῖοι
καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας μετέχοντες ἕτοι-
μοι συνακολουθεῖν, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι
καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὶ συμ-
πολεμεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναστάτους Λακεδαιμονίους·
ἢν δὲ ταῦτα πράξῃς, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
75 ῥᾳδίως κρατήσεις. ταῦτα φλυαροῦντες καὶ φά-
σκοντες ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ ταχέως ἅπαντα τῷ
λόγῳ καταστρεφόμενοι, πολλοὺς πείθουσι, καὶ μά-
λιστα μὲν τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὧν
περ οἱ λογοποιοῦντες, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς οὐδενὶ
λογισμῷ χρωμένους ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ παντά-
πασιν ἀναισθήτως διακειμένους καὶ πολλὴν χάριν
ἔχοντας τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι
προσποιουμένοις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζοντας
τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν σε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
αἰτίαν ταύτην ἀξίαν ἐπιθυμίας εἶναι νομίζοντας.

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[a] The Messenians were at war with Sparta and in alliance with Philip. Paus. iv. 28. 2. [b] See 20.

[c] The Amphictyony was an association of states for the protection of the worship of Apollo at Delphi (Grote, *Hist.* ii. pp. 248 ff.). The members of the Amphictyony, among whom the Thebans and the Thessalians were prominent, were now engaged in the Sacred War against the Phocians, seeking to wrest from the latter the control of the Temple.

trouble in their own cities—men who look upon a state of peace which is for the good of all as a state of war upon their selfish interests. Heedless of all other considerations, they keep talking about your power, representing that it is being built up, not in behalf of Hellas, but against her, that you have for a long time been plotting against us all, and that, while you are giving it out that you intend to go to the rescue of the Messenians,[a] if you can settle the Phocian question, you really design to subdue the Peloponnesus to your rule. The Thessalians,[b] they say, and the Thebans, and all those who belong to the Amphictyony,[c] stand ready to follow your lead; while the Argives, the Messenians, the Megalopolitans,[d] and many of the others are prepared to join forces with you and wipe out the Lacedaemonians; and if you succeed in doing this, you will easily be master of the rest of Hellas. By speaking this rubbish, by pretending to have exact knowledge and by speedily effecting in words the overthrow of the whole world, they are convincing many people. They convince, most of all, those who hunger for the same calamities as do the speechmakers; next, those who exercise no judgement about their common welfare, but, utterly obtuse in their own perceptions, are very grateful to men who pretend to feel alarm and fear in their behalf; and lastly, those who do not deny that you appear to be plotting against the Hellenes, but are of the opinion that the purpose with which you are charged is a worthy ambition.

In 338 B.C. Philip had been invited by the Amphictyony to join them against the Phocians.

[d] See 49 ff.

76 Οἳ τοσοῦτον ἀφεστᾶσι τοῦ νοῦν ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἄν τις λόγοις χρώμενος τοὺς μὲν βλάψειε τοὺς δ' ὠφελήσειεν. οἷον καὶ νῦν, εἰ μέν τις φαίη τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι στρατεύειν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἂν λέγοι περὶ αὐτοῦ φλαῦρον, ἀλλ' ἀνδρωδέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ πλέονος ἄξιον δοκεῖν εἶναι ποιήσειεν· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τινὶ πεφυκότων, ὃς ἁπάσης κατέστη τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐεργέτης, ἐπιφέροι τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην, εἰς τὴν
77 μεγίστην αἰσχύνην ἂν αὐτὸν καταστήσειεν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγανακτήσειε καὶ μισήσειεν, εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύων ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πρόγονος αὐτοῦ προείλετο κινδυνεύειν, καὶ τὴν μὲν εὔνοιαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπε τοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγενημένοις, μὴ πειρῷτο διαφυλάττειν, ἀμελήσας δὲ τούτων ἐπονειδίστων ἐπιθυμοίη καὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων;

78 Ὧν ἐνθυμούμενον χρὴ μὴ περιορᾶν τοιαύτην φήμην σαυτῷ περιφυομένην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ περιθεῖναί σοι ζητοῦσι, τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀντειπεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ τολμήσειεν. καίτοι περὶ τῶν σοι συμφερόντων ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀμφοτέρων γνώμαις μάλιστ' ἂν κατίδοις τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

79 Ἴσως οὖν ὑπολαμβάνεις μικροψυχίαν εἶναι τὸ
[98] τῶν βλασφημούντων καὶ φλυαρούντων καὶ τῶν πειθομένων τούτοις φροντίζειν, ἄλλως θ' ὅταν καὶ μηδὲν σαυτῷ συνειδῇς ἐξαμαρτάνων. χρὴ δὲ μὴ

For these latter are so far divorced from intelligence that they do not realize that one may apply the same words in some cases to a man's injury, in others to his advantage. For example, if at the present moment one were to say that the King of Asia was plotting against the Hellenes, and had made preparations to send an expedition against us, he would not be saying anything disparaging of him; nay, he would, on the contrary, make us think more highly of his courage and his worth. But if, on the other hand, one should bring this charge against one of the descendants of Heracles, who made himself the benefactor of all Hellas, he would bring upon him the greatest opprobrium. For who would not feel indignation and loathing if a man should be found to be plotting against those in whose behalf his ancestor elected to live a life of perils, and if he made no effort to preserve the good will which the latter had bequeathed as a legacy to his posterity, but, heedless of these examples, set his heart on reprehensible and wicked deeds?

You ought to give these matters careful thought, and not look on with indifference while rumours are springing up around you of the sort which your enemies seek to fasten upon you, but which your friends, to a man, would not hesitate to deny. And yet it is in the feelings of both these parties that you can best see the truth as to your own interests.

Perhaps, however, you conceive that it argues a mean spirit to pay attention to the drivellers who heap abuse upon you and to those who are influenced by what they say, especially when your own conscience is free from any sense of guilt. But you

καταφρονεῖν τοῦ πλήθους, μηδὲ παρὰ μικρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τότε νομίζειν καλὴν ἔχειν καὶ μεγάλην τὴν δόξαν καὶ πρέπουσαν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πεπραγμέ-
80 νοις, ὅταν οὕτω διαθῇς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς Λακεδαιμονίους τε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βασιλέας ἔχοντας τούς θ' ἑταίρους τοὺς σοὺς πρὸς σὲ διακειμένους. ἔστι δ' οὐ χαλεπὸν τυχεῖν τούτων, ἢν ἐθελήσῃς κοινὸς ἅπασι γενέσθαι, καὶ παύσῃ ταῖς μὲν τῶν πόλεων οἰκείως ἔχων, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος, ἔτι δ' ἢν τὰ τοιαῦτα προαιρῇ πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἔσει πιστός, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις φοβερός.

81 Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, ἅ περ ἐπέστειλα καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον τὴν τυραννίδα κτησάμενον, εἰ μήτε στρατηγὸς ὢν μήτε ῥήτωρ μήτ' ἄλλως δυνάστης θρασύτερόν σοι διείλεγμαι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐγὼ γὰρ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι πάντων ἀφυέστατος ἐγενόμην τῶν πολιτῶν (οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν ἔσχον ἱκανὴν οὔτε τόλμαν δυναμένην ὄχλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ μολύνεσθαι καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κυλινδουμέ-
82 νοις), τοῦ δὲ φρονεῖν εὖ καὶ πεπαιδεῦσθαι καλῶς, εἰ καί τις ἀγροικότερον εἶναι φήσει τὸ ῥηθέν, ἀμφισβητῶ, καὶ θείην ἂν ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς προέχουσι τῶν ἄλλων. διό περ ἐπιχειρῶ συμβουλεύειν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ὃν ἐγὼ πέφυκα καὶ δύναμαι, καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις.

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[a] See *Epist.* ii. 6.

[b] Isocrates dwells on his disabilities repeatedly. *Cf.* *Epist.* i. 9; *Epist.* viii. 7; and *Panath.* 9, 10. See General Introd. p. xix.

ought not to despise the multitude nor count it a little thing to have the respect of the whole world; on the contrary, you ought then, and only then, to be satisfied that you enjoy a reputation which is good and great and worthy of yourself and of your forefathers and of the achievements of your line, when you have brought the Hellenes to feel toward you as you see the Lacedaemonians feel toward their kings,[a] and as your companions feel toward yourself. And it is not difficult for you to attain this if you determine to show yourself equally friendly to all, and cease treating some of the cities as friends and others as strangers, and if, furthermore, you fix your choice upon the kind of policy by which you can make yourself trusted by the Hellenes and feared by the barbarians.

And do not be surprised (as I said in my letter to Dionysius after he had made himself master of Sicily) that I, who am not a general nor a public orator nor in any other position of authority, have expressed myself to you more boldly than the others. The fact is that nature has placed me more at a disadvantage than any of my fellow-citizens for a public career:[b] I was not given a strong enough voice nor sufficient assurance to enable me to deal with the mob, to take abuse, and bandy words with the men who haunt the rostrum; but, though some will condemn my taste in saying so, I do lay claim to sane judgement and good education, and I would count myself in comparison with others not among the last, but among the foremost. And that is why I endeavour in this way, for which my nature and powers are suited, to give advice to Athens and to the Hellenes at large and to the most distinguished among men.

83 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ ὧν σοι πρακτέον
ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, σχεδὸν ἀκήκοας· περὶ δὲ
τῆς στρατείας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ταῖς μὲν πόλεσιν,
ἃς ἔφην χρῆναί σε διαλλάττειν, τότε συμβουλεύσο-
μεν ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὅταν
ἴδωμεν αὐτὰς ὁμονοούσας, πρὸς σὲ δὲ νῦν ποιήσο-
μαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων διάνοιαν καὶ
[99] κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτ' ἔγραφον περὶ τὴν
84 αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην. τότε μὲν γὰρ παρεκελευό-
μην τοῖς ἀκουσομένοις καταγελᾶν μου καὶ κατα-
φρονεῖν, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς δόξης
τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸν λόγον δια-
τριφθέντος ἀξίως φαίνωμαι διεξιών· νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι
μὴ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων πολὺ καταδεέστερον
τύχω διαλεχθείς. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ λό-
γος ὁ πανηγυρικός, ὁ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς περὶ τὴν
φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβοντας εὐπορωτέρους ποιήσας,
ἐμοὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχηκεν· οὔτε γὰρ ταὐτὰ
βούλομαι λέγειν τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῳ γεγραμμένοις, οὔτ'
85 ἔτι καινὰ δύναμαι ζητεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀποστατέον
ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ λεκτέον περὶ ὧν ὑπεθέμην, ὅ τι ἂν
ὑποπέσῃ καὶ συμφέρῃ πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαί σε ταῦτα
πράττειν. καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἐλλίπω τι καὶ μὴ δυνηθῶ
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον γράψαι τοῖς πρότερον ἐκδεδομέ-
νοις, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπογράψειν γ' οἶμαι χαριέντως τοῖς
ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ διαπονεῖν δυναμένοις.

86 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ σύμπαντος
οἶμαι πεποιῆσθαι ταύτην, ἥν περ προσήκει τοὺς ἐπὶ

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[a] *Paneg.* 14.

[b] Not an empty boast. See Havet, Introduction to Cartelier's *Antid.* pp. lxxv ff.

Now regarding myself, and regarding the course which you should take toward the Hellenes, perhaps no more need be said. But as to the expedition against Asia, we shall urge upon the cities which I have called upon you to reconcile that it is their duty to go to war with the barbarians, only when we see that they have ceased from discord. For the present, I shall address myself to you, not, however, with the same confidence as I had at that period of my life when I was writing on this same subject. For then I challenged my audience to visit their ridicule and contempt upon me if I did not manifestly treat the question in a way which was worthy of the matter in hand and of my reputation and of the time which I had devoted to the discourse.[a] But now I dread lest what I say may fall far short of every claim I then made; for, apart from the other disabilities under which I labour, my *Panegyricus*, which has enriched the other men who make philosophy their business,[b] has left me quite impoverished, because I am neither willing to repeat what I have written in that discourse nor am I at my age able to cast about for new things. However, I must not shirk my task, but must say in support of the enterprise which I have proposed whatever occurs to me as likely to persuade you to undertake it. For even if I fall short in any degree, and am not able to write in the style of my former publications, I think that I shall at any rate present an attractive sketch for those who have the energy to elaborate the details and carry the work to completion.

The point of departure, then, which I have taken for my whole discussion is, I believe, the one which is proper for those who urge an expedition against

τὴν Ἀσίαν πείθοντας στρατεύειν. δεῖ γὰρ μηδὲν πρότερον πράττειν, πρὶν ἂν λάβῃ τις τοὺς Ἕλληνας δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ συναγωνιζομένους ἢ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν ἔχοντας τοῖς πραττομένοις. ὧν Ἀγησίλαος ὁ δόξας εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων φρονιμώτατος ὠλιγώ-
87 ρησεν, οὐ διὰ κακίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν. ἔσχε γὰρ διττὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καλὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, οὐ συμφωνούσας δ' ἀλλήλαις οὐδ' ἅμα πράττεσθαι δυναμένας. προῃρεῖτο γὰρ βασιλεῖ τε πολεμεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὑτῶν καταγαγεῖν καὶ κυρίους ποιῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων. συνέβαινεν οὖν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πραγματείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐν κακοῖς καὶ κινδύνοις εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, διὰ δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν τὴν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένην μὴ σχολὴν ἄγειν μηδὲ δύνασθαι πολεμεῖν τοῖς
88 βαρβάροις. ὥστ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγνοηθέντων κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ῥᾴδιον καταμαθεῖν ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ πρότερον ἐκφέρειν πρὸς βασιλέα
[100] πόλεμον, πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ τις τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ παύσῃ τῆς μανίας τῆς νῦν αὐτοῖς ἐνεστώσης· ἅ περ καὶ σοὶ συμβεβουλευκότες τυγχάνομεν.

89 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντειπεῖν τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τολμήσειεν· οἶμαι δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων εἴ τισι δόξειε περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν συμβουλεύειν, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐπιπεσεῖν τὴν παράκλησιν, λέγοντας ὡς ὅσοι περ ἐπεχείρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν, ἅπασι συνέπεσεν ἐξ ἀδόξων μὲν γενέσθαι λαμπροῖς, ἐκ πενήτων δὲ πλουσίοις, ἐκ ταπεινῶν δὲ πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πόλεων δεσπόταις.

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[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 15.

Asia.[a] For one must undertake nothing until he finds the Hellenes doing one of two things : either actually supporting the undertaking or according it their entire approval. It was this which Agesilaus, for all that he was looked upon as the most sagacious of the Lacedaemonians, disregarded, not because of incapacity but because of ambition. For he had two aims, which, though laudable, were not consistent, and could not be carried out at the same time, since he was resolved both to make war against the King and to restore his friends to their cities and put them in control of affairs.[b] Naturally the result of his efforts in behalf of his friends was that the Hellenes were involved in troubles and perils, and, owing to the confusion which arose at home, had neither the time nor the power to make war upon the barbarians. So from the mistakes of inadvertence at that time it is easy to draw the lesson that those who would take sane counsel must not begin a war against the King until someone has composed the quarrels of the Hellenes and has cured them of the madness which now afflicts them. And this is just what I have advised you to do.

On these points no man of intelligence would venture to contradict me. But I think that if any of the others should be prompted to advise you in favour of the expedition against Asia, they would resort to a plea of this kind : that it has been the fortune of all who have undertaken a war against the King, without exception, to rise from obscurity to brilliant distinction, from poverty to wealth, and from low estate to be masters of many lands and

[b] The same explanation of Agesilaus's failure is given in *Epist.* ix. 13.

90 ἐγὼ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων μέλλω σε παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ἠτυχηκέναι δοξάντων, λέγω δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν μετὰ Κύρου καὶ Κλεάρχου συστρατευσαμένων.

Ἐκείνους γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται νικῆσαι μὲν μαχομένους ἅπασαν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν τοσοῦτον, ὅσον περ ἂν εἰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν συνέβαλον, ἤδη δ᾽ ἐγκρατεῖς δοκοῦντας εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τὴν Κύρου προπέτειαν ἀτυχῆσαι· περιχαρῆ γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ διώκοντα πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν μέσοις γενόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπο-
91 θανεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως τηλικαύτης συμφορᾶς συμπεσούσης οὕτω σφόδρα κατεφρόνησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς περὶ αὑτὸν δυνάμεως, ὥστε προκαλεσάμενος Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας εἰς λόγον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν, τοῖς δ᾽ ἄλλοις στρατιώταις ἐντελῆ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοὺς ἀποπέμψειν, τοιαύταις ἐλπίσιν ὑπαγαγόμενος, καὶ πίστεις δοὺς τῶν ἐκεῖ νομιζομένων τὰς μεγίστας, συλλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὕτως ἐρήμοις οὖσι συμβαλεῖν.
92 ὥστε τίς ἂν γένοιτο παράκλησις ταύτης καλλίων καὶ πιστοτέρα; φαίνονται γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι κρατήσαντες ἂν τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, εἰ μὴ διὰ Κῦρον. σοὶ δὲ τήν τ᾽ ἀτυχίαν τὴν τότε γεγενημένην οὐ χαλεπὸν φυλάξασθαι, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου τοῦ κρατήσαντος τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν ῥᾴδιον πολὺ κρεῖττον κατασκευάσασθαι. καίτοι τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ὑπαρξάντων πῶς οὐ χρὴ θαρρεῖν ποιούμενον τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην;

[a] See *Paneg.* 145-149, where the same episode is used to the same point in similar language.

cities. I, however, am not going to urge you on such grounds, but by the example of men who were looked upon as failures : I mean those who took the field with Cyrus and Clearchus.[a]

Every one agrees that these won as complete a victory in battle over all the forces of the King as if they had come to blows with their womenfolk, but that at the very moment when they seemed to be masters of the field they failed of success, owing to the impetuosity of Cyrus. For he in his exultation rushed in pursuit far in advance of the others; and, being caught in the midst of the enemy, was killed. But the King, notwithstanding that his foes had suffered so severe a loss, felt so thorough a contempt for his own forces that he invited Clearchus and the other captains to a parley, promising to give them great gifts and to pay their soldiers their wages in full and to give them safe convoy home ; then, having lured them by such prospects, and having assured them by the most solemn pledges known to the Persians, he seized them and put them to death, deliberately choosing to outrage the gods rather than risk a clash with our soldiers, bereft though they now were of Cyrus's aid. And what challenge could be nobler or more convincing than this ? For it is evident that, if it had not been for Cyrus, even that army would have overthrown the power of the King. But for you it is easy both to guard against the disaster which befell at that time and to equip yourself with an armament much stronger than that which defeated the forces of the King. How, then, since you possess both these advantages, can you fail to undertake this expedition with all confidence ?

[101] Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με βούλεσθαι λαθεῖν, ὅτι
93 τούτων ἔνια πέφρακα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅν περ
πρότερον. ἐπιστὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς διανοίας
εἱλόμην μὴ πονεῖν γλιχόμενος τὰ δεδηλωμένα
καλῶς ἑτέρως εἰπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐπίδειξιν
ἐποιούμην, ἐπειρώμην ἂν ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
94 φεύγειν, σοὶ δὲ συμβουλεύων μωρὸς ἂν ἦν, εἰ
περὶ τὴν λέξιν πλείω χρόνον διέτριβον ἢ περὶ τὰς
πράξεις, ἔτι δ' εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς
χρωμένους αὐτὸς μόνος ἀπειχόμην τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
πρότερον εἰρημένων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν οἰκείοις τυχὸν
ἂν χρησαίμην, ἤν που σφόδρα κατεπείγῃ καὶ
πρέπῃ, τῶν δ' ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲν ἂν προσδεξαίμην,
ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ.

95 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως· δοκεῖ δέ μοι μετὰ ταῦτα
περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς διαλεκτέον εἶναι τῆς τε σοὶ
γενησομένης καὶ τῆς ἐκείνοις ὑπαρξάσης. τὸ μὲν
τοίνυν μέγιστον, σὺ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνους
ἕξεις, ἤν περ ἐθελήσῃς ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς περὶ τούτων
εἰρημένοις, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ διὰ τὰς δεκαδαρχίας τὰς ἐπὶ
Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς οἷόν τε δυσμενεστάτους. ἡγοῦν-
το γὰρ Κύρου μὲν καὶ Κλεάρχου κατορθωσάντων
μᾶλλον ἔτι δουλεύσειν, βασιλέως δὲ κρατήσαντος
ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων· ὅ
96 περ καὶ συνέπεσεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιώ-
τας σὺ μὲν ἐξ ἑτοίμου λήψει τοσούτους ὅσους ἂν

[a] This apology is curious, since Greek orators habitually repeated identical passages in dealing with the same situations. *Cf. Antid.* 74.

[b] *Cf. Antid.* 55. An "epideictic" speech was a lecture whose aim was to display the rhetorical powers of the speaker.

[c] See *Paneg.* 110 ff.

And let no one suppose that I desire to conceal the fact that I have in some instances expressed myself in the same manner as upon a former occasion. For, coming to the same thoughts, I have preferred not to go through the effort of striving to phrase differently what has already been well expressed.[a] It is true that if I were making an epideictic speech [b] I should try to avoid scrupulously all such repetitions; but now that I am urging my views upon you, I should have been foolish if I had spent more time on the style than on the subject matter, and if, furthermore, seeing that the other orators make free with my writings, I alone had abstained from what I have said in the past. So, then, I may perhaps be allowed to use what is my own, if at any time I am greatly pressed and find it suitable, although I would not now any more than in times past appropriate anything from the writings of other men.

We may, then, regard these points as settled. But next in order I think that I should speak of the war-strength which will be available to you as compared with that which Clearchus and his followers had. First and most important of all, you will have the good will of the Hellenes if you choose to abide by the advice which I have given you concerning them; they, on the other hand, found the Hellenes intensely hostile because of the decarchies [c] which the Lacedaemonians had set up; for the Hellenes thought that, if Cyrus and Clearchus should succeed, their yoke would be heavier still, but that if the King conquered they would be delivered from their present hardships; and this is just what did happen to them. Besides, you will find as many soldiers at your service as you wish, for such is now the state of

βουληθῇς· οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε ῥᾷον εἶναι συστῆσαι στρατόπεδον μεῖζον καὶ κρεῖττον ἐκ τῶν πλανωμένων ἢ τῶν πολιτευομένων· ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἦν ξενικὸν οὐδέν, ὥστ' ἀναγκαζόμενοι ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων πλέον ἀνήλισκον εἰς τὰς διδομένας τοῖς συλλέγουσι δωρεὰς ἢ τὴν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας μισθοφοράν.

97 καὶ μὴν εἰ βουληθεῖμεν ἐξετάσαι καὶ παραβαλεῖν σέ τε τὸν νῦν ἡγησόμενον τῆς στρατείας καὶ βουλευσόμενον περὶ ἁπάντων καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν ἐπιστατήσαντα τῶν τότε πραγμάτων, εὑρήσομεν ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς πώποτε δυνάμεως πρότερον οὔτε ναυτικῆς οὔτε πεζῆς καταστάντα κύριον, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς συμβάσης αὐτῷ περὶ

98 τὴν ἤπειρον ὀνομαστὸν γενόμενον, σὲ δὲ τοσαῦτα

[102] καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος διαπεπραγμένον· περὶ ὧν εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἑτέρους τὸν λόγον ἐποιούμην, καλῶς ἂν εἶχε διελθεῖν, πρὸς σὲ δὲ διαλεγόμενος, εἰ τὰς σὰς πράξεις σοι διεξιοίην, δικαίως ἂν ἀνόητος ἅμα καὶ περίεργος εἶναι δοκοίην.

99 Ἄξιον δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφοτέρων, ἐφ' ὃν σοί τε συμβουλεύω στρατεύειν καὶ πρὸς ὃν Κλέαρχος ἐπολέμησεν, ἵν' ἑκατέρου τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰδῇς. ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τούτου πατὴρ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ πάλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεπολέμησεν, οὗτος δ' οὐδενὸς

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[a] See *Paneg.* 168 and note.

[b] Cyrus gave Clearchus about ten thousand pounds with which to levy mercenaries. Xen. *Anab.* i. 1. 9.

[c] Artaxerxes II., 405–359 B.C.

[d] This is inexact. He is probably thinking of the defeat of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War in which Sparta

affairs in Hellas that it is easier to get together a greater and stronger army from among those who wander in exile than from those who live under their own polities.[a] But in those days there was no body of professional soldiers, and so, being compelled to collect mercenaries from the several states, they had to spend more money on bounties[b] for their recruiting agents than on pay for the troops. And, lastly, if we should be inclined to make a careful review of the two cases and institute a comparison between you, who are to be at the head of the present expedition and to decide on every measure, and Clearchus, who was in charge of the enterprise of that day, we should find that he had never before been in command of any force whatever on either land or sea and yet attained renown from the misfortune which befell him on the continent of Asia; while you, on the contrary, have succeeded in so many and such mighty achievements that if I were making them the subject of a speech before another audience, I should do well to recount them, but, since I am addressing myself to you, you would rightly think it senseless and gratuitous in me to tell you the story of your own deeds.

It is well for me to speak to you also about the two Kings, the one against whom I am advising you to take the field, and the one against whom Clearchus made war, in order that you may know the temper and the power of each. In the first place, the father[c] of the present King once defeated our city[d] and later the city of the Lacedaemonians,[e] while this King[f]

had the assistance of Persia; but Artaxerxes II. came to the throne in the year of the battle of Aegospotami.

[e] At the battle of Cnidus with the help of Conon, 394 B.C.

[f] Artaxerxes III., 359–339 B.C.

πώποτε τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ
100 λυμαινομένων ἐπεκράτησεν. ἔπειθ' ὁ μὲν τὴν
Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐξέλαβεν, οὗτος δὲ τοσούτου δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκδοθεισῶν αὐτῷ πόλεων ἐγκρατής ἐστιν. ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε, πότερα χρὴ νομίζειν τοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀφεστάναι δι' ἀνανδρίαν, ἢ 'κείνας ὑπερεωρακέναι καὶ καταπεφρονηκέναι τῆς βαρβαρικῆς δυναστείας.
101 Τὰ τοίνυν περὶ τὴν χώραν ὡς διάκειται, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀκούσας παροξυνθείη πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν; Αἴγυπτος γὰρ ἀφειστήκει μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐφοβοῦντο μή ποτε βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος στρατείαν κρατήσειε καὶ τῆς διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν δυσχωρίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἁπάσης· νῦν δ' οὗτος ἀπήλλαξεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους τούτου. συμπαρασκευασάμενος γὰρ δύναμιν ὅσην οἷός τ' ἦν πλείστην, καὶ στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν οὐ μόνον ἡττηθείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγελασθεὶς καὶ δόξας οὔτε
102 βασιλεύειν οὔτε στρατηγεῖν ἄξιος εἶναι. τὰ τοίνυν
περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, ὅθεν ἐχρῶντο ναυτικῷ, τότε μὲν ἦν βασιλέως, νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀφέστηκε, τὰ δ' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ κακοῖς τοσούτοις ἐστίν, ὥστ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν χρήσιμον, σοὶ δ', ἢν πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν βουληθῇς, συμφόρως
103 ἕξειν. καὶ μὴν Ἰδριέα γε τὸν εὐπορώτατον τῶν

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[a] Treaty of Antalcidas. See *Paneg.* 115 ff., 175 ff.
[b] *Paneg.* 140, 161. [c] *Paneg.* 161.
[d] *Paneg.* 162.

has never overcome anyone of the armies which have been violating his territory. Secondly, the former took the whole of Asia from the Hellenes by the terms of the Treaty [a]; while this King is so far from exercising dominion over others that he is not in control even of the cities which were surrendered to him; and such is the state of affairs that there is no one who is not in doubt what to believe—whether he has given them up because of his cowardice, or whether they have learned to despise and contemn the power of the barbarians.

Consider, again, the state of affairs in his empire. Who could hear the facts and not be spurred to war against him? Egypt was, it is true, in revolt [b] even when Cyrus made his expedition; but her people nevertheless were living in continual fear lest the King might some day lead an army in person and overcome the natural obstacles which, thanks to the Nile, their country presents, and all their military defences as well. But now this King has delivered them from that dread; for after he had brought together and fitted out the largest force he could possibly raise and marched against them, he retired from Egypt not only defeated, but laughed at and scorned as unfit either to be a king or to command an army. Furthermore, Cyprus and Phoenicia and Cilicia,[c] and that region from which the barbarians used to recruit their fleet, belonged at that time to the King, but now they have either revolted from him or are so involved in war and its attendant ills that none of these peoples is of any use to him; while to you, if you desire to make war upon him, they will be serviceable. And mark also that Idrieus,[d] who is the most prosperous of the present rulers of the

νῦν περὶ τὴν ἤπειρον προσήκει δυσμενέστερον εἶναι
[103] *τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι τῶν πολεμούντων· ἢ*
πάντων γ' ἂν εἴη σχετλιώτατος, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο
καταλελύσθαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, τὴν αἰκισαμένην
μὲν τὸν ἀδελφόν, πολεμήσασαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν,
ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλεύουσαν καὶ βου-
λομένην τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
104 *ἁπάντων γενέσθαι κυρίαν. ὑπὲρ ὧν δεδιὼς νῦν*
μὲν ἀναγκάζεται θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα
πολλὰ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀναπέμπειν· εἰ
δὲ σὺ διαβαίης εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἐκεῖνός τ' ἂν
ἄσμενος ἴδοι βοηθὸν ἥκειν αὐτῷ σε νομίζων, τῶν
τ' ἄλλων σατραπῶν πολλοὺς ἀποστήσεις, ἢν
ὑπόσχῃ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦτο
διασπείρῃς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅ περ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλ-
ληνας εἰσπεσὸν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Λακεδαι-
μονίων ἀρχὴν κατέλυσεν.
105 *Ἔτι δ' ἂν πλείω λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν, ὃν τρόπον*
πολεμῶν τάχιστ' ἂν περιγένοιο τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
δυνάμεως· νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι μή τινες ἐπιτιμήσωσιν
ἡμῖν, εἰ μηδὲν πώποτε μεταχειρισάμενος τῶν στρα-
τηγικῶν νῦν τολμῴην σοὶ παραινεῖν τῷ πλεῖστα
καὶ μέγιστα διαπεπραγμένῳ κατὰ πόλεμον. ὥστε
περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐδὲν οἶμαι δεῖν πλείω λέγειν.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ἡγοῦμαι τόν τε πατέρα σου
καὶ τὸν κτησάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸν τοῦ
γένους ἀρχηγόν, εἰ τῷ μὲν εἴη θέμις, οἱ δὲ δύ-

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[a] Mausolus.

[b] "Freedom" of the Greeks from Athenian tyranny was the avowed object of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War, Thuc. iv. 86. *Cf. Paneg.* 122.

[c] Amyntas II. [d] Perdiccas I. See 32, note.

mainland, must in the nature of things be more hostile to the interests of the King than are those who are making open war against him; verily he would be of all men the most perverse if he did not desire the dissolution of that empire which outrages his brother,[a] which made war upon himself, and which at all times has never ceased to plot against him in its desire to be master of his person and of all his wealth. It is through fear of these things that he is now constrained to pay court to the King and to send him much tribute every year; but if you should cross over to the mainland with an army, he would greet you with joy, in the belief that you were come to his relief; and you will also induce many of the other satraps to throw off the King's power if you promise them "freedom" and scatter broadcast over Asia that word which, when sown among the Hellenes, has broken up both our empire and that of the Lacedaemonians.[b]

I might go on and endeavour to speak at greater length on how you could carry on the war so as to triumph most quickly over the power of the King; but as things are, I fear that I might lay myself open to criticism if, having had no part in a soldier's life, I should now venture to advise you, whose achievements in war are without parallel in number and magnitude. Therefore on this subject I think I need say nothing more.

But to proceed with the rest of my discourse, I believe that both your own father [c] and the founder of your kingdom,[d] and also the progenitor of your race [e]—were it lawful for Heracles and possible for

[e] Heracles. The latter was precluded by his divinity; Amyntas and Perdiccas by their death.

ναμιν λάβοιεν, τῶν αὐτῶν ἂν τούτων γενέσθαι
106 συμβούλους ὧν περ ἐγώ. χρῶμαι δὲ τεκμηρίοις
ἐξ ὧν διαπεπραγμένοι τυγχάνουσιν. ὅ τε γὰρ
πατήρ σου πρὸς τὰς πόλεις ταύτας, αἷς σοὶ
παραινῶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, πρὸς ἁπάσας οἰκείως
εἶχεν· ὅ τε κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μεῖζον φρονή-
σας τῶν αὑτοῦ πολιτῶν καὶ μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμήσας,
οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐβουλεύσατο τοῖς πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας
107 φιλοτιμίας ὁρμωμένοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὑτῶν
πόλεσι στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ σφαγὰς ἐμ-
ποιοῦντες ἐκτῶντο τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην, ὁ δὲ τὸν
μὲν τόπον τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὅλως εἴασε, τὴν δ' ἐν
Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείαν κατασχεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν· ἠπί-
στατο γὰρ τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας οὐκ εἰθισμένους
ὑπομένειν τὰς μοναρχίας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐ δυνα-
[104] μένους ἄνευ τῆς τοιαύτης δυναστείας διοικεῖν τὸν
108 βίον τὸν σφέτερον αὐτῶν. καὶ γάρ τοι συνέβη
διὰ τὸ γνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἰδίως καὶ τὴν
βασιλείαν γεγενῆσθαι πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγ-
μένην· μόνος γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὁμοφύλου γένους
ἄρχειν ἀξιώσας μόνος καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἠδυνήθη τοὺς
κινδύνους τοὺς περὶ τὰς μοναρχίας γιγνομένους.
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοιοῦτόν τι δια-
πεπραγμένους εὕροιμεν ἂν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς
διεφθαρμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἠφανισμένον, ἐκεῖνον δ' αὐτόν τ' ἐν
εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὸν βίον διαγαγόντα, τῷ τε γένει
καταλιπόντα τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς ἅσπερ αὐτὸς εἶχεν.

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[a] With Athens, Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 26; with Sparta, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 38. [b] Of Argos.

the others to appear as your counsellors—would advise the very things which I have urged. I draw my inference from their actions while they lived. For your father, in dealing with those states which I am urging you to cultivate, kept on friendly terms [a] with them all. And the founder of your empire, although he aspired higher than did his fellow-citizens [b] and set his heart on a king's power, was not minded to take the same road as others who set out to attain a like ambition. For they endeavoured to win this honour by engendering factions, disorder, and bloodshed in their own cities; he, on the other hand, held entirely aloof from Hellenic territory, and set his heart upon occupying the throne of Macedon. For he knew full well that the Hellenes were not accustomed to submit to the rule of one man, while the other races were incapable of ordering their lives without the control of some such power. And so it came about, owing to his unique insight in this regard, that his kingship has proved to be quite set apart from that of the generality of kings: for, because he alone among the Hellenes did not claim the right to rule over a people of kindred race, he alone was able to escape the perils incident to one-man power. For history discovers to us the fact that those among the Hellenes who have managed to acquire such authority have not only been destroyed themselves but have been blotted, root and branch, from the face of the earth; [c] while he, on the contrary, lived a long and happy life and left his seed in possession of the same honours which he himself had enjoyed.

[c] The Pisistratidae of Athens. A recent case in point was the murder of Alexander of Pherae. *Cf. To Nicocles*, 5.

109 Περὶ τοίνυν Ἡρακλέους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὴν ἀνδρίαν ὑμνοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ἀπαριθμοῦντες διατελοῦσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῇ ψυχῇ προσόντων ἀγαθῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ποιητῶν οὔτε τῶν λογοποιῶν οὐδεμίαν φανήσεται μνείαν πεποιημένος. ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ μὲν τόπον ἴδιον καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιεξέργαστον, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ κενόν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἐπαίνων καὶ καλῶν πράξεων γέμοντα, ποθοῦντα δὲ τὸν ἀξίως ἂν δυνηθέντα
110 διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· ἐφ' ὃν εἰ μὲν νεώτερος ὢν ἐπέστην, ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐπέδειξα τὸν πρόγονον ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ φρονήσει καὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ πλέον διενεγκόντα πάντων τῶν προγεγενημένων ἢ τῇ ῥώμῃ τῇ τοῦ σώματος· νῦν δ' ἐπελθὼν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ κατιδὼν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνόντων εἰπεῖν, τήν τε δύναμιν τὴν παροῦσάν μοι κατεμεμψάμην καὶ τὸν λόγον ᾐσθόμην διπλάσιον ἂν γενόμενον τοῦ νῦν ἀναγιγνωσκομένου. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἀπέστην διὰ τὰς αἰτίας ταύτας, μίαν δὲ πρᾶξιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, ἥ περ ἦν προσήκουσα μὲν καὶ πρέπουσα τοῖς προειρημένοις, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν ἔχουσα μάλιστα σύμμετρον τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις.

111 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁρῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων κακῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, παύσας ταῦτα καὶ διαλλάξας τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, μεθ' ὧν χρὴ καὶ πρὸς οὓς δεῖ τοὺς πολέμους ἐκφέρειν. ποιησά-
[105] μενος γὰρ στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, ἥ περ εἶχε τότε μεγίστην δύναμιν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοσοῦτον

[a] See Diod. iv. 17. [b] *Evag.* 16.

Coming now to Heracles, all others who praise him harp endlessly on his valour or recount his labours; and not one, either of the poets or of the historians, will be found to have commemorated his other excellences—I mean those which pertain to the spirit. I, on the other hand, see here a field set apart and entirely unworked—a field not small nor barren, but teeming with many a theme for praise and with glorious deeds, yet demanding a speaker with ability to do them justice. If this subject had claimed my attention when I was younger, I should have found it easy to prove that it was more by his wisdom, his lofty ambition, and his justice than by his strength of body that your ancestor surpassed all who lived before his day. But approaching the subject at my present age, and seeing what a wealth of material there is in it to discuss, I have felt that my present powers were unequal to the task, and I have also realized that my discourse would run on to twice the length of that which is now before you to be read. For these reasons, then, I have refrained from touching upon his other exploits and have singled out one only—a story which is pertinent and in keeping with what I have said before, while being of a length best proportioned to the subject now in hand.

When Heracles saw that Hellas was rife with wars and factions and many other afflictions, he first brought these troubles to an end and reconciled the cities with each other,[a] and then showed by his example to coming generations with whom and against whom it was their duty to go to war. For he made an expedition against Troy,[b] which was in those days the strongest power in Asia, and

διήνεγκε τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τῶν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην
112 ὕστερον πολεμησάντων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμεως ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα μόλις αὐτὴν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡμέραις ἐλάττοσιν ἢ τοσαύταις καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων στρατεύσας ῥᾳδίως αὐτὴν κατὰ κράτος εἷλεν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς βασιλέας τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἠπείρου τὴν παραλίαν κατοικούντων ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν· οὓς οὐδέποτ' ἂν διέφθειρεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν ἐκράτησεν. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας τὰς στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλέους καλουμένας ἐποιήσατο, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων, μνημεῖον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων, ὅρους δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων χώρας.

113 Τούτου δ' ἕνεκά σοι περὶ τούτων διῆλθον, ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι σε τυγχάνω τῷ λόγῳ παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ τοιαύτας πράξεις, ἃς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων οἱ πρόγονοί σου φαίνονται καλλίστας προκρίναντες. ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν χρὴ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας τὸν κράτιστον ὑποστησαμένους πειρᾶσθαι γίγνεσθαι τοιούτους, μάλιστα δὲ σοὶ προσήκει. τὸ γὰρ μὴ δεῖν ἀλλοτρίοις χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασιν, ἀλλ' οἰκεῖον ὑπάρχειν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σε παροξύνεσθαι, καὶ φιλονικεῖν ὅπως τῷ προγόνῳ σαυτὸν ὅμοιον
114 παρασκευάσεις; λέγω δ' οὐχ ὡς δυνησόμενον ἁπάσας σε μιμήσασθαι τὰς Ἡρακλέους πράξεις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τῶν θεῶν ἔνιοι δυνηθεῖεν)· ἀλλὰ κατά γε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν, ἣν εἶχεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δύναι'

[a] Chiefs of barbarian tribes, such as Diomedes, Mygdon, Sarpedon, Busiris, Antaeus.

[b] Europe and Asia. *Cf. Paneg.* 35.

so far did he excel in generalship those who at a later time waged war against this same city, that, while they with the combined strength of Hellas found it difficult to take Troy after a siege which lasted ten years, he, on the other hand, in less than as many days, and with a small expedition, easily took the city by storm. After this, he put to death to a man all the princes [a] of the tribes who dwelt along the shores of both continents [b]; and these he could never have destroyed had he not first conquered their armies. When he had done these things, he set up the Pillars of Heracles, as they are called, to be a trophy of victory over the barbarians, a monument to his own valour and the perils he had surmounted, and to mark the bounds of the territory of the Hellenes.

My purpose in relating all this is that you may see that by my words I am exhorting you to a course of action which, in the light of their deeds, it is manifest that your ancestors chose as the noblest of all. Now, while all who are blessed with understanding ought to set before themselves the greatest of men as their model, and strive to become like him, it behoves you above all to do so. For since you have no need to follow alien examples but have before you one from your own house, have we not then the right to expect that you will be spurred on by this and inspired by the ambition to make yourself like the ancestor of your race? I do not mean that you will be able to imitate Heracles in all his exploits; for even among the gods there are some who could not do that; but in the qualities of the spirit, in devotion to humanity, and in the good will which he cherished toward the Hellenes,

ἂν ὁμοιωθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνου βουλήμασιν. ἔστι δέ
σοι πεισθέντι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις τυχεῖν
115 δόξης, οἵας ἂν αὐτὸς βουληθῇς· ῥᾴδιον γάρ ἐστιν
ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κτήσασθαι τὴν καλλίστην, ἢ
ἐξ ὧν παρέλαβες ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν προ-
ελθεῖν. σκέψαι δ' ὅτι σε τυγχάνω παρακαλῶν, ἐξ
ὧν ποιήσει τὰς στρατείας οὐ μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἐφ' οὓς οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἐπὶ τούτους πρὸς οὓς προσήκει τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρα-
κλέους γεγονότας πολεμεῖν.

116 Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσῃς, εἰ διὰ παντός σε τοῦ λόγου
[106] πειρῶμαι προτρέπειν ἐπί τε τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πρᾳότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν·
ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰς μὲν χαλεπότητας λυπηρὰς οὔσας
καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι, τὰς δὲ
πρᾳότητας οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν
117 ἄλλων ζώων ἁπάντων εὐδοκιμούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
θεῶν τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἡμῖν ὄντας
Ὀλυμπίους προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς
συμφοραῖς καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις τεταγμένους δυσ-
χερεστέρας τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν
καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ νεὼς καὶ
βωμοὺς ἱδρυμένους, τοὺς δ' οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς
οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τιμωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀποπομπὰς
118 αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενον ἐθίζειν
σαυτὸν χρή, καὶ μελετᾶν ὅπως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν
τοιαύτην ἅπαντες περὶ σοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἕξουσιν.
χρὴ δὲ τοὺς μείζονος δόξης τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιθυ-
μοῦντας περιβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς πράξεις

[a] Repeated in *Epist.* iii. 5.

[b] The contrast is between Zeus, Apollo, Athena, etc., and the under-world deities Hades, Persephone, the Furies, etc.

you can come close to his purposes. And it lies in your power, if you will heed my words, to attain whatever glory you yourself desire; for it is easier for you to rise from your present station and win the noblest fame than it has been to advance from the station which you inherited to the fame which is now yours.[a] And mark that I am summoning you to an undertaking in which you will make expeditions, not with the barbarians against men who have given you no just cause, but with the Hellenes against those upon whom it is fitting that the descendants of Heracles should wage war.

And do not be surprised if throughout my speech I am trying to incline you to a policy of kindness to the Hellenes and of gentleness and humanity. For harshness is, I observe, grievous both to those who exercise it and to those upon whom it falls, while gentleness, whether in man or in the other animals, bears a good name; nay, in the case of the gods also we invoke as the "Heavenly Ones" those who bless us with good things, while to those who are agents of calamities and punishments we apply more hateful epithets; in honour of the former, both private persons and states erect temples and altars, whereas we honour the latter neither in our prayers nor in our sacrifices, but practise rites to drive away their evil presence.[b] Bearing ever in mind these truths, you should habitually act and strive to the end that all men shall cherish even more than they do now such an opinion of your character. Indeed, those who crave a greater fame than that of other men must map out in their thoughts a course of action which, while practicable,

δυνατὰς μέν, εὐχῇ δ' ὁμοίας, ἐξεργάζεσθαι δὲ
ζητεῖν αὐτὰς ὅπως ἂν οἱ καιροὶ παραδιδῶσιν.
119 Ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἂν κατανοήσειας ὅτι δεῖ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον πράττειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐκ τῶν Ἰάσονι
συμβάντων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον οἷον σὺ
κατεργασάμενος μεγίστης δόξης ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἐξ
ὧν ἔπραξεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἔφησεν· ἐποιεῖτο γὰρ
τοὺς λόγους ὡς εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον διαβησόμενος καὶ
120 βασιλεῖ πολεμήσων. ὅπου δ' Ἰάσων λόγῳ μόνον
χρησάμενος οὕτως αὑτὸν ηὔξησεν, ποίαν τινὰ χρὴ
προσδοκᾶν περὶ σοῦ γνώμην αὐτοὺς ἕξειν, ἢν ἔργῳ
ταῦτα πράξῃς, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν πειραθῇς ὅλην
τὴν βασιλείαν ἑλεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή, χώραν ὅτι πλείστην
ἀφορίσασθαι καὶ διαλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς λέγουσί
τινες, ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μέχρι Σινώπης, πρὸς δὲ τού-
τοις κτίσαι πόλεις ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ κατ-
οικίσαι τοὺς νῦν πλανωμένους δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ'
121 ἡμέραν καὶ λυμαινομένους οἷς ἂν ἐντύχωσιν. οὓς
εἰ μὴ παύσομεν ἀθροιζομένους βίον αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν
πορίσαντες, λήσουσιν ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὸ
πλῆθος, ὥστε μηδὲν ἧττον αὐτοὺς εἶναι φοβεροὺς
[107] τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις· ὧν οὐδεμίαν
ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦμεν κοινὸν φόβον
122 καὶ κίνδυνον ἅπασιν ἡμῖν αὐξανόμενον. ἔστιν
οὖν ἀνδρὸς μέγα φρονοῦντος καὶ φιλέλληνος καὶ
πορρωτέρω τῶν ἄλλων τῇ διανοίᾳ καθορῶντος,
ἀποχρησάμενον τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς τοὺς βαρ-

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[a] Jason, tyrant of Pherae, in Thessaly. His "talked-of" expedition against Persia is mentioned also by Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 12. See General Introd. p. xl, footnote.

[b] A catch phrase for the territory of Asia Minor. *Cf.* "Asia from Cnidus to Sinope" in *Paneg.* 162.

is at the same time close to the ideal, and seek to carry it into effect as opportunity presents a way.

From many considerations you may realize that you ought to act in this way, but especially from the experiences of Jason.[a] For he, without having achieved anything comparable to what you have done, won the highest renown, not from what he did, but from what he said; for he kept talking as if he intended to cross over to the continent and make war upon the King. Now since Jason by use of words alone advanced himself so far, what opinion must we expect the world will have of you if you actually do this thing; above all, if you undertake to conquer the whole empire of the King, or, at any rate, to wrest from it a vast extent of territory and sever from it—to use a current phrase—"Asia from Cilicia to Sinope"[b]; and if, furthermore, you undertake to establish cities in this region, and to settle in permanent abodes those who now, for lack of the daily necessities of life, are wandering from place to place and committing outrages upon whomsoever they encounter?[c] If we do not stop these men from banding together, by providing sufficient livelihood for them, they will grow before we know it into so great a multitude as to be a terror no less to the Hellenes than to the barbarians. But we pay no heed to them; nay, we shut our eyes to the fact that a terrible menace which threatens us all alike is waxing day by day. It is therefore the duty of a man who is high-minded, who is a lover of Hellas, who has a broader vision than the rest of the world, to employ these bands in a war against

[c] See *Epist.* ix. 9. *Cf.* 96; *Paneg.* 168; *Peace* 24.

βάρους, καὶ χώραν ἀποτεμόμενον τοσαύτην ὅσην
ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, ἀπαλλάξαι τε τοὺς
ξενιτευομένους τῶν κακῶν ὧν αὐτοί τ' ἔχουσι
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχουσι, καὶ πόλεις ἐξ αὐτῶν
συστῆσαι, καὶ ταύταις ὁρίσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
123 προβαλέσθαι πρὸ ἁπάντων ἡμῶν. ταῦτα γὰρ
πράξας οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους εὐδαίμονας ποιήσεις,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀσφάλειαν καταστήσεις.
ἢν δ' οὖν τούτων διαμάρτῃς, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό γε ῥᾳδίως
ποιήσεις, τὰς πόλεις τὰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικούσας
ἐλευθερώσεις.

Ὅ τι δ' ἂν τούτων πρᾶξαι δυνηθῇς ἢ καὶ μόνον
ἐπιχειρήσῃς, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων
εὐδοκιμήσεις, καὶ δικαίως, ἤν περ αὐτός τ' ἐπὶ
ταῦθ' ὁρμήσῃς καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας προτρέψῃς·
124 ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως τὰ συμβεβηκότα
θαυμάσειε καὶ καταφρονήσειεν ἡμῶν, ὅπου παρὰ
μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις, οὓς ὑπειλήφαμεν μαλακοὺς
εἶναι καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρους καὶ διεφθαρμένους
ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς, ἄνδρες ἐγγεγόνασιν οἳ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν ἠξίωσαν, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς
τοσοῦτον πεφρόνηκεν ὥστ' ἐπιχειρῆσαι τῆς Ἀσίας
125 ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι κυρίους, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀπο-
λελειμμένοι τυγχάνομεν, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐκ
ὤκνησαν οὐδὲ προϋπάρξαι τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν κακῶς ἐπά-
θομεν ἀμύνεσθαι τολμῶμεν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὁμολογούν-
των ἐκείνων ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς πολέμοις μήτε στρατιώ-
τας ἔχειν μήτε στρατηγοὺς μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν τῶν

[a] For this and what follows *cf. Paneg.* 133-136.

[b] Persian effeminacy is described at length in *Paneg.* 150 ff.

the barbarians, to strip from that empire all the territory which I defined a moment ago, to deliver these homeless wanderers from the ills by which they are afflicted and which they inflict upon others, to collect them into cities, and with these cities to fix the boundary of Hellas, making of them buffer states to shield us all. For by doing this, you will not only make them prosperous, but you will put us all on a footing of security. If, however, you do not succeed in these objects, this much you will at any rate easily accomplish,—the liberation of the cities which are on the coast of Asia.

But no matter what part of this undertaking you are able to carry out, or only attempt to carry out, you cannot fail to attain distinguished glory ; and it will be well deserved if only you will make this the goal of your own efforts and urge on the Hellenes in the same course. For as things now are, who would not have reason to be amazed [a] at the turn events have taken and to feel contempt for us, when among the barbarians, whom we have come to look upon as effeminate and unversed in war and utterly degenerate from luxurious living,[b] men have arisen [c] who thought themselves worthy to rule over Hellas, while among the Hellenes no one has aspired so high as to attempt to make us masters of Asia ? Nay, we have dropped so far behind the barbarians that, while they did not hesitate even to begin hostilities against the Hellenes, we do not even have the spirit to pay them back for the injuries we have suffered at their hands. On the contrary, although they admit that in all their wars they have no soldiers of their own nor generals nor any of the things which are

[c] Dareius, Xerxes.

126 εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους χρησίμων, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρ' ἡμῶν μεταπεμπομένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἥκομεν ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ κακῶς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξὸν ἡμῖν τἀκείνων ἀδεῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τ' αὐτοὺς περὶ μικρῶν πολεμοῦμεν, καὶ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βασιλέως συγκαταστρεφόμεθα, καὶ λελήθαμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε
[108] μετὰ τῶν πατρικῶν ἐχθρῶν τοὺς τῆς αὐτῆς συγγενείας μετέχοντας ἀπολλύναι ζητοῦντες.

127 Διὸ καὶ σοὶ νομίζω συμφέρειν οὕτως ἀνάνδρως διακειμένων τῶν ἄλλων προστῆναι τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. προσήκει δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐνδεδεμένοις ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν στέργειν, ἐν ᾗ τυγχάνουσι κατοικοῦντες, σὲ δ' ὥσπερ ἄφετον γεγενημένον ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πατρίδα νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ὁ γεννήσας ὑμᾶς, καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ὧν μάλιστα σπουδάζεις.

128 Ἴσως δ' ἂν τινες ἐπιτιμῆσαί μοι τολμήσειαν τῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένων ἢ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ὅτι σὲ προειλόμην παρακαλεῖν ἐπί τε τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παραλιπὼν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πόλιν.
129 ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄλλους τινὰς πρότερον ἐπεχείρουν διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τούτων ἢ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὑτοῦ τὴν τρὶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσασαν, δὶς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἅπαξ δ'

[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 135.
[b] *Cf. Paneg.* 133, 136.
[c] *Cf. Paneg.* 134.
[d] *Paneg.* 157.

serviceable in times of danger, but have to send and get all these from us,[a] we have gone so far in our passion to injure ourselves that, whereas it lies in our power to possess the wealth of the barbarians in security and peace, we continue to wage war upon each other over trifles,[b] and we actually help to reduce to subjection those who revolt[c] from the authority of the King, and sometimes, unwittingly, we ally ourselves with our hereditary foes[d] and seek to destroy those who are of our own race.

Therefore, since the others are so lacking in spirit, I think it is opportune for you to head the war against the King; and, while it is only natural for the other descendants of Heracles, and for men who are under the bonds of their polities and laws, to cleave fondly to that state in which they happen to dwell, it is your privilege, as one who has been blessed with untrammelled freedom,[e] to consider all Hellas your fatherland,[f] as did the founder of your race, and to be as ready to brave perils for her sake as for the things about which you are personally most concerned.

Perhaps there are those—men capable of nothing else but criticism—who will venture to rebuke me because I have chosen to challenge you to the task of leading the expedition against the barbarians and of taking Hellas under your care, while I have passed over my own city. Well, if I were trying to present this matter to any others before having broached it to my own country, which has thrice[g] freed Hellas—twice from the barbarians and once from the Lacedae-

[e] *Cf.* 14, 15. [f] *Cf. Paneg.* 81.

[g] Twice from the barbarians—at Marathon and Salamis; once from the Spartans at the battle of Cnidus, where the navy under Conon put an end to the Spartan hegemony.

ἀπὸ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς, ὡμολόγουν ἂν
πλημμελεῖν· νῦν δ' ἐκείνην μὲν φανήσομαι πρώ-
την ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέπων ὡς ἠδυνάμην μετὰ
πλείστης σπουδῆς, αἰσθανόμενος δ' ἔλαττον αὐτὴν
φροντίζουσαν τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένων ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ
τοῦ βήματος μαινομένων ἐκείνην μὲν εἴασα, τῆς
130 δὲ πραγματείας οὐκ ἀπέστην. διὸ δικαίως ἄν με
πάντες ἐπαινοῖεν ὅτι, τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ χρώμενος
ἣν ἔχων τυγχάνω, διατετέλεκα πάντα τὸν χρόνον
πολεμῶν μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις, κατηγορῶν δὲ τῶν
μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἐχόντων, προτρέπειν
δ' ἐπιχειρῶν οὓς ἂν ἐλπίσω μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι
τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ
βαρβάρους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμο-
131 νίαν. διόπερ καὶ νῦν πρὸς σὲ ποιοῦμαι τοὺς
λόγους, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τούτοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν
λεγομένοις πολλοὶ φθονήσουσι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς
τούτοις ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένοις ἅπαντες συνησθή-
σονται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰρημένων οὐδεὶς κεκοινώ-
νηκε, τῶν δ' ὠφελιῶν τῶν κατεργασθησομένων
οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ οἰήσεται μεθέξειν.

[109]
132 Σκέψαι δ' ὡς αἰσχρὸν περιορᾶν τὴν Ἀσίαν
ἄμεινον πράττουσαν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους εὐπορωτέρους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄντας, ἔτι
δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Κύρου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας, ὃν ἡ
μήτηρ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξέβαλε, βασιλέας μεγάλους
προσαγορευομένους, τοὺς δ' ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πε-
φυκότας, ὃν ὁ γεννήσας διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν εἰς θεοὺς
ἀνήγαγε, ταπεινοτέροις ὀνόμασιν ἢ 'κείνους προσ-
αγορευομένους. ὧν οὐδὲν ἐατέον οὕτως ἔχειν,

[a] In the *Panegyricus*. [b] See General Introd. p. xxxviii.
[c] See *Paneg*. 132, 184, 187. [d] See *To Dem*. 50.

monian yoke—I should confess my error. In truth, however, it will be found that I turned to Athens first of all and endeavoured to win her over to this cause with all the earnestness of which my nature is capable,[a] but when I perceived that she cared less for what I said than for the ravings of the platform orators,[b] I gave her up, although I did not abandon my efforts. Wherefore I might justly be praised on every hand, because throughout my whole life I have constantly employed such powers as I possess in warring on the barbarians, in condemning those who opposed my plan, and in striving to arouse to action whoever I think will best be able to benefit the Hellenes in any way or to rob the barbarians of their present prosperity. Consequently, I am now addressing myself to you, although I am not unaware that when I am proposing this course many will look at it askance, but that when you are actually carrying it out all will rejoice in it; for no one has had any part in what I have proposed, but when the benefits from it shall have been realized in fact, everyone without fail will look to have his portion.

Consider also what a disgrace it is to sit idly by and see Asia flourishing more than Europe and the barbarians enjoying a greater prosperity[c] than the Hellenes; and, what is more, to see those who derive their power from Cyrus, who as a child was cast out by his mother on the public highway, addressed by the title of "The Great King," while the descendants of Heracles, who because of his virtue was exalted by his father to the rank of a god,[d] are addressed by meaner titles[e] than they. We must not allow this

[e] The Spartan kings are merely "kings," while the Persian king is "The Great King."

*ἀλλ' ἀναστρεπτέον καὶ μεταστατέον ἅπαντα ταῦτ'
ἐστίν.*

133 *Εὖ δ' ἴσθι μηδὲν ἂν με τούτων ἐπιχειρήσαντά
σε πείθειν, εἰ δυναστείαν μόνον καὶ πλοῦτον ἑώρων
ἐξ αὐτῶν γενησόμενον· ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ τά γε τοιαῦτα
καὶ νῦν σοι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ
πολλὴν ἀπληστίαν ἔχειν ὅς τις προαιρεῖται κιν-
δυνεύειν ὥστ' ἢ ταῦτα λαβεῖν ἢ στερηθῆναι τῆς*
134 *ψυχῆς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πρὸς τὰς τούτων κτήσεις
ἀποβλέψας ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος
ἐκ τούτων μεγίστην σοι καὶ καλλίστην γενή-
σεσθαι δόξαν. ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ὅτι τὸ μὲν σῶμα θνητὸν
ἅπαντες ἔχομεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὔνοιαν*[1] *καὶ τοὺς
ἐπαίνους καὶ τὴν φήμην καὶ τὴν μνήμην τὴν
τῷ χρόνῳ συμπαρακολουθοῦσαν ἀθανασίας μετα-
λαμβάνομεν, ἧς ἄξιον ὀρεγομένους καθ' ὅσον οἷοί*
135 *τ' ἐσμὲν ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν. ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἰδιω-
τῶν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς
ἂν τὸ ζῆν ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
ἐθέλοντας, ὅλως δὲ τοὺς μὲν τιμῆς ἐπιθυμοῦντας
ἀεὶ μείζονος ἧς ἔχουσιν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινου-
μένους, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τῶν ὄντων ἀπλήστως
διακειμένους ἀκρατεστέρους καὶ φαυλοτέρους εἶναι*
136 *δοκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι
συμβαίνει τοῦ μὲν πλούτου καὶ τῶν δυναστειῶν
πολλάκις τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κυρίους γίγνεσθαι, τῆς δ'
εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τῶν προειρημένων μηδένας ἄλλους καταλείπεσθαι
κληρονόμους πλὴν τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν γεγονότας. ὥστ'*

[1] *ευ..αν* Γ: *εὐδοξίαν* vulg.

[a] *Cf. To Nicocles* 37. [b] *Cf. Evag.* 3; *Archidamus* 109.

state of affairs to go on; no, we must change and reverse it entirely.

Rest assured that I should never have attempted to persuade you to undertake this at all had power and wealth been the only things which I saw would come of it; for I think that you already have more than enough of such things, and that any man is beyond measure insatiable who deliberately chooses the extreme hazard of either winning these prizes or losing his life. No, it is not with a view to the acquisition of wealth and power that I urge this course, but in the belief that by means of these you will win a name of surpassing greatness and glory. Bear in mind that while we all possess bodies that are mortal, yet by virtue of good will and praise and good report and memory which keeps pace with the passage of time we partake of immortality[a]—a boon for which we may well strive with all our might and suffer any hardship whatsoever. You may observe that even common citizens of the best sort, who would exchange their lives for nothing else, are willing for the sake of winning glory to lay them down in battle;[b] and, in general, that those who crave always an honour greater than they already possess are praised by all men, while those who are insatiable with regard to any other thing under the sun are looked upon as intemperate and mean.[c] But more important than all that I have said is the truth that wealth and positions of power often fall into the hands of our foes, whereas the good will of our fellow-countrymen and the other rewards which I have mentioned are possessions to which none can fall heir but our own children, and they alone. I

[c] The same sentiment is in *Epist.* iii. 4.

ᾐσχυνόμην ἄν, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἕνεκα συνεβούλευον καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν.

[110] 137 *Οὕτω δ' ἄριστα βουλεύσει περὶ τούτων, ἢν ὑπολάβῃς μὴ μόνον τὸν λόγον τοῦτόν σε παρακαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνανδρίαν καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους γενομένους καὶ δόξαντας ἡμιθέους εἶναι διὰ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ σὺ μὲν τυγχάνεις τοσαύτην δύναμιν κεκτημένος ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν τὴν Εὐρώπην κατοικησάντων, πρὸς ὃν δὲ πολεμήσεις, οὕτω σφόδρα μεμισημένος καὶ καταπεφρονημένος ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν βασιλευσάντων.*

138 *Πρὸ πολλοῦ δ' ἂν ἐποιησάμην οἷόντ' εἶναι συνερᾶσαι τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων εἰρημένους· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν ἄξιος οὗτος ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς ὑποθέσεως. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ σέ γε χρὴ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ἁπάντων τὰ συντείνοντα καὶ προτρέποντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἄριστα βουλεύσαιο περὶ αὐτῶν.*

139 *Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἄμαχον εἶναι νομίζουσιν· ὧν ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἰ τὴν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου βαρβάρου καὶ κακῶς τεθραμμένου κατασταθεῖσαν καὶ συναχθεῖσαν ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, ταύτην ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος μὴ νομίζουσιν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ διαλυθῆναι, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες ὅτι συστῆσαι μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα χαλεπόν, διαστῆσαι δὲ ῥᾴδιον.*

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[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 138 ff. [b] Cyrus. See 66.

could not, therefore, respect myself if I failed to advance these motives in urging you to make this expedition and wage war and brave its perils.

You will best resolve upon this question if you feel that you are summoned to this task, not by my words only, but by your forefathers, by the cowardice of the Persians, and by all who have won great fame and attained the rank of demigods because of their campaigns against the barbarians, and, most of all, by the present opportunity, which finds you in the possession of greater power than has any of those who dwell in Europe, and finds him against whom you are to make war more cordially hated and despised by the world at large than was ever any king before him.

I should have given much to be able to blend into one all the speeches I have delivered on this question; for the present discourse would then appear more worthy of its theme. But, as things are, it devolves upon you to search out and consider, from all my speeches, the arguments which bear upon and urge you to this war; for so you will best resolve upon the matter.

Now I am not unaware that many of the Hellenes look upon the King's power as invincible.[a] Yet one may well marvel at them if they really believe that the power which was subdued to the will of a mere barbarian—an ill-bred[b] barbarian at that—and collected in the cause of slavery, could not be scattered by a man of the blood of Hellas, of ripe experience in warfare, in the cause of freedom—and that too although they know that while it is in all cases difficult to construct a thing, to destroy it is, comparatively, an easy task.

140 Ἐνθυμοῦ δ' ὅτι μάλιστα τούτους τιμῶσιν ἅπαν-
τες καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οἵτινες ἀμφότερα δύνανται,
καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν. ὅταν οὖν ὁρᾷς
τοὺς ἐν μιᾷ πόλει ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν φύσιν
εὐδοκιμοῦντας, ποίους τινὰς χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τοὺς
ἐπαίνους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ σοῦ ῥηθησομένους,
ὅταν φαίνῃ ταῖς μὲν εὐεργεσίαις ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι πεπολιτευμένος, ταῖς δὲ στρατηγίαις τοὺς
141 βαρβάρους κατεστραμμένος; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦ-
μαι ταῦτα πέρας ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄλλον ποτὲ
[111] δυνήσεσθαι μείζω πρᾶξαι τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν
τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενήσεσθαι τηλικοῦτον ἔργον, ὅσον
ἐστὶ τὸ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοσούτων πολέμων ἐπὶ
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν προαγαγεῖν, οὔτε τοῖς βαρβάροις
εἰκός ἐστι συστῆναι τηλικαύτην δύναμιν, ἣν τὴν
142 νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν καταλύσῃς. ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἐπι-
γιγνομένων οὐδ' ἤν τις τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκῃ τὴν
φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἕξει ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον. ἀλλὰ μὴν
τῶν γε προγεγενημένων ἔχω μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖν τὰς
πράξεις τοῖς ἤδη διὰ σοῦ κατειργασμένοις, οὐ
γλίσχρως, ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς· ὅστις γὰρ ἔθνη τοσαῦτα
τυγχάνεις κατεστραμμένος ὅσας οὐδεὶς πώποτε
τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις εἷλε, πῶς οὐκ ἂν πρὸς
ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀντιπαραβάλλων ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἐπ-
143 έδειξα μείζω σε κἀκείνων διαπεπραγμένον; ἀλλὰ
γὰρ εἱλόμην ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας δι'
ἀμφότερα, διά τε τοὺς οὐκ εὐκαίρως αὐτῇ χρω-
μένους, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι ταπεινοτέρους

Bear in mind that the men whom the world most admires and honours are those who unite in themselves the abilities of the statesman and the general. When, therefore, you see the renown which even in a single city is bestowed on men who possess these gifts, what manner of eulogies must you expect to hear spoken of you, when among all the Hellenes you shall stand forth as a statesman who has worked for the good of Hellas, and as a general who has overthrown the barbarians? I, for my part, think that this will set a limit to human endeavour; for no other man will ever be able to do deeds greater than these, because among the Hellenes there will never be again so great an enterprise as that of leading us forward out of our innumerable wars into a spirit of concord; nor, among the barbarians, is it likely that so great a power will ever be built up again if once you shatter that which they now possess. Therefore, in generations yet to come, no one, no matter how surpassing his genius, will ever be in a position to do so great a thing. Yes, and speaking of those who lived before your time, I could show that their deeds are excelled by the things which you have even now accomplished, in no specious sense but in very truth; for since you have overthrown more nations than any of the Hellenes has ever taken cities, it would not be hard for me to prove, comparing you with each of them in turn, that you have accomplished greater things than they. But I have deliberately abstained from this mode of comparison, and for two reasons: because some writers employ it in season and out of season, and also because I am unwilling to represent those whom

ποιεῖν τῶν νῦν ὄντων τοὺς ἡμιθέους εἶναι νομιζο-
μένους.

144 Ἐνθυμοῦ δ', ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἴπωμεν,
ὅτι τὸν Ταντάλου πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν Πέλοπος ἀρχὴν
καὶ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε λόγων
εὑρετὴς οὔτε ποιητὴς ἐπαινέσειεν, ἀλλὰ μετά γε
τὴν Ἡρακλέους ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν Θησέως
ἀρετὴν τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένους καὶ
τοὺς ἐκείνοις ὁμοίους γενομένους ἅπαντες ἂν εὐ-
145 λογήσειαν. καίτοι τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ τοὺς
ἀρίστους αὐτῶν ἴσμεν ἐν μικροῖς πολιχνίοις καὶ
νησυδρίοις τὰς ἀρχὰς κατασχόντας. ἀλλ' ὅμως
ἰσόθεον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστὴν τὴν αὐτῶν
δόξαν κατέλιπον· ἅπαντες γὰρ φιλοῦσιν οὐ τοὺς
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μεγίστην δυναστείαν κτησαμένους,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῖς Ἕλλησι πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους
γεγενημένους.

146 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ὄψει τὴν γνώ-
μην ταύτην ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάντων ὁμοίως·
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπαινέσειεν,
οὔθ' ὅτι τῆς θαλάττης ἦρξεν οὔθ' ὅτι τοσοῦτον
πλῆθος χρημάτων εἰσπράξασα τοὺς συμμάχους
εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὅτι
πολλῶν πόλεων ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἀναστά-
τους ποιῆσαι, τὰς δ' αὐξῆσαι, τὰς δ' ὅπως ἐβουλή-
147 θη διοικῆσαι· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα παρῆν αὐτῇ πράτ-
[112] τειν· ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων μὲν πολλαὶ κατηγορίαι κατ'
αὐτῆς γεγόνασιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαραθῶνι μάχης καὶ
τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν

[a] The treasury of the Confederacy of Delos was origin-

the world regards as demigods as of less worth than men who are now living.

Ponder well the fact (to touch upon examples from the distant past) that while no man, whether poet or writer of prose, would applaud the wealth of Tantalus, or the rule of Pelops, or the power of Eurystheus, all the world, with one accord, would praise—next to the unrivalled excellence of Heracles and the goodness of Theseus—the men who marched against Troy and all others who have proved to be like them. And yet we know that the bravest and most famous of them held their sway in little villages and petty islands ; nevertheless they left behind them a name which rivals that of the gods and is renowned throughout the world. For all the world loves, not those who have acquired the greatest power for themselves alone, but those who have shown themselves to be the greatest benefactors of Hellas.

And you will observe that this is the opinion which men hold, not of these heroes only, but of all mankind. Thus, no one would praise our city either because she was once mistress of the sea, or because she extorted such huge sums of money from her allies and carried them up into the Acropolis,[a] nor yet, surely, because she obtained power over many cities—power to devastate them, or aggrandize them, or manage them according to her pleasure (for all these things it was possible for her to do) ; no, all these things have been the source of many complaints against her, while because of the battle of Marathon, the naval battle at Salamis, and most of all because her citizens abandoned their own

ally in the island of Delos ; later it was transferred to the Parthenon at Athens.

αὐτῶν ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας, ἅπαντες αὐτὴν ἐγκωμιάζουσιν. τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ
148 γνώμην καὶ περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων μᾶλλον ἄγανται τὴν ἧτταν τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἢ τὰς ἄλλας νίκας, καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων σταθὲν ἀγαπῶσι καὶ θεωροῦσι, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἐπαινοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἀηδῶς ὁρῶσιν· ἡγοῦνται γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρετῆς εἶναι σημεῖον, τὰ δὲ πλεονεξίας.

149 Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐξετάσας ἅπαντα καὶ διελθὼν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἤν μέν τι τῶν εἰρημένων ᾖ μαλακώτερον ἢ καταδεέστερον, αἰτιῶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμήν, ᾗ δικαίως ἂν ἅπαντες συγγνώμην ἔχοιεν· ἢν δ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρότερον διαδεδομένοις, νομίζειν αὐτὰ χρὴ μὴ τὸ γῆρας τοὐμὸν εὑρεῖν ἀλλὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὑποβαλεῖν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ φροντίζον, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κηδόμενον, καὶ βουλόμενον ταύτην τε τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξαι τῶν παρόντων καὶ σοὶ πολὺ
150 μείζω περιθεῖναι δόξαν τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης. οἶμαι δέ σ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὃν τρόπον οἱ θεοὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διοικοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτόχειρες οὔτε τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὔτε τῶν κακῶν γίγνονται τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἑκάστοις τοιαύτην ἔννοιαν
151 ἐμποιοῦσιν, ὥστε δι' ἀλλήλων ἡμῖν ἑκάτερα παραγίγνεσθαι τούτων. οἷον ἴσως καὶ νῦν τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἡμῖν ἀπένειμαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς πράξεις σὲ τάττουσι, νομίζοντες τούτων μὲν σὲ κάλλιστ' ἂν

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[a] For these services see *Paneg.* 91-96.

[b] He means the spot where the trophy was raised, marked later by the column erected by the Greeks. Herod. vii. 228.

[c] For like apologies see *Antid.* 9 ; *Panath.* 4 ; *Epist.* vi. 6.

homes to insure the deliverance of Hellas,[a] she enjoys the encomiums of all mankind. The same opinion is held regarding the Lacedaemonians also; their defeat at Thermopylae is more admired than their many victories; the trophy [b] which was erected by the barbarians over the Lacedaemonians is an object of affectionate regard and of pilgrimages, while the trophies erected by the Lacedaemonians over their enemies call forth, not praise, but odium; for the former is regarded as a proof of valour, the latter of selfish greed.

Now if, after examining and reviewing all these admonitions in your own mind, you feel that my discourse is in any part rather weak and inadequate,[c] set it down to my age, which might well claim the indulgence of all; but if it is up to the standard of my former publications, I would have you believe that it was not my old age that conceived it but the divine will that prompted it, not out of solicitude for me, but because of its concern for Hellas, and because of its desire to deliver her out of her present distress and to crown you with a glory far greater than you now possess. I think that you are not unaware in what manner the gods order the affairs of mortals: for not with their own hands do they deal out the blessings and curses that befall us; rather they inspire in each of us such a state of mind that good or ill, as the case may be, is visited upon us through one another. For example, it may be that even now the gods have assigned to me the task of speech while to you they allot the task of action,[d] considering that you will be the best master in that province, while

[d] *Cf. Epist.* ix. 17.

ἐπιστατῆσαι, τὸν δὲ λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν ἥκιστ' ἂν ὀχληρὸν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἄν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ μή τις θεῶν αὐτὰ συγ-
152 κατώρθωσεν, οὐχ ἵνα τοῖς βαρβάροις μόνον τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης κατοικοῦσι πολεμῶν διατελῇς,
[113] ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ γνωσθεὶς οἷος εἶ τούτων ἐπιθυμήσῃς ὧν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω συμβεβουλευκώς. αἰσχρὸν οὖν ἐστι καλῶς τῆς τύχης ἡγουμένης ἀπολειφθῆναι, καὶ μὴ παρασχεῖν σαυτὸν εἰς ὃ βούλεταί σε προαγαγεῖν.

153 Νομίζω δὲ χρῆναί σε πάντας μὲν τιμᾶν τοὺς περὶ τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἀγαθόν τι λέγοντας, κάλλιστα μέντοι νομίζειν ἐκείνους ἐγκωμιάζειν, τοὺς μειζόνων ἔργων ἢ τηλικούτων τὴν σὴν φύσιν ἀξιοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεχαρισμένως διειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἂν τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους οὕτω ποιήσωσι τὰς σὰς πράξεις θαυμάζειν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν προγεγενημένων. πολλὰ δὲ βουλόμενος τοιαῦτα λέγειν οὐ δύναμαι· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἥν, πλεονάκις τοῦ δέοντος εἴρηκα.

154 Λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστι τὰ προειρημένα συναγαγεῖν, ἵν' ὡς ἐν ἐλαχίστοις κατίδοις τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν συμβεβουλευμένων. φημὶ γὰρ χρῆναί σε τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας εὐεργετεῖν, Μακεδόνων δὲ βασιλεύειν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὡς πλείστων ἄρχειν. ἢν γὰρ ταῦτα πράττῃς, ἅπαντές σοι χάριν ἕξουσιν, οἱ μὲν

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[a] The indigenous Macedonians are regarded as half barbarians.

in the field of speech I might prove least irksome to my hearers. Indeed, I believe that even your past achievements would never have reached such magnitude had not one of the gods helped you to succeed; and I believe he did so, not that you might spend your whole life warring upon the barbarians in Europe alone, but that, having been trained and having gained experience and come to know your own powers in these campaigns, you might set your heart upon the course which I have urged upon you. It were therefore shameful, now that fortune nobly leads the way, to lag behind and refuse to follow whither she desires to lead you forward.

It is my belief that, while you ought to honour everyone who has any praise for your past accomplishments, you ought to consider that those laud you in the noblest terms who judge your nature capable of even greater triumphs, and not those whose discourse has gratified you for the moment only, but those who will cause future generations to admire your achievements beyond the deeds of any man of the generations that are past. I would like to say many things in this strain, but I am not able; the reason why, I have stated more often than I ought.

It remains, then, to summarize what I have said in this discourse, in order that you may see in the smallest compass the substance of my counsels. I assert that it is incumbent upon you to work for the good of the Hellenes, to reign as king over the Macedonians,[a] and to extend your power over the greatest possible number of the barbarians. For if you do these things, all men will be grateful to

Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ ὧν εὖ πάσχουσι, Μακεδόνες δ᾿ ἢν βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννικῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατῇς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γένος, ἢν διὰ σὲ βαρβαρικῆς δεσποτείας ἀπαλλαγέντες Ἑλληνικῆς ἐπιμελείας τύχωσι.

155 Ταῦθ᾿ ὅπως μὲν γέγραπται τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀκριβείαις, παρ᾿ ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων πυνθάνεσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστιν· ὅτι μέντοι βελτίω τούτων καὶ μᾶλλον ἁρμόττοντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν οὐδεὶς ἄν σοι συμβουλεύσειεν, σαφῶς εἰδέναι νομίζω.

you: the Hellenes for your kindness to them; the Macedonians if you reign over them, not like a tyrant, but like a king; and the rest of the nations, if by your hands they are delivered from barbaric despotism and are brought under the protection of Hellas

How well this discourse has been composed with respect to appropriateness and finish of style is a question which it is fair to ask my hearers to answer; but that no one could give you better advice than this, or advice more suited to the present situation—of this I believe that I am well assured.

VI. ARCHIDAMUS

INTRODUCTION

The disastrous battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., followed up by three Theban invasions of the Peloponnesus, had reduced Sparta to a state of extreme anxiety. In 369 B.C., on the first of these invasions, Epaminondas had actually entered Sparta itself.[a] In addition he had called back the fugitive Helots and Messenians, and with them had founded the new city of Messene.[b]

During the course of the later invasions, Corinth and some of the lesser allies of Sparta became restive. They bore the brunt of the Theban inroads, and got nothing for their pains. Therefore in 366 B.C. they made overtures of peace to Thebes. One of the conditions which Thebes imposed was that the newly colonized city of Messene be recognized as independent.[c] Disposed to comply with this demand, the allied states, headed by the Corinthians, met in congress at Sparta to urge this course.[d]

[a] See note on *Philip* 48.

[b] The Messenians and the Helots had revolted against Sparta during the earthquake of 464 B.C. Messene was destroyed and the Messenians who remained on the ground were enslaved. See Diodorus xv. 66.

[c] This was in reality one of the terms of the peace of Pelopidas, secured by that Theban statesman in 367 B.C. See Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 1. 36.

[d] See the speech of the Corinthians in Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 4. 6-11.

Isocrates has chosen for the setting of this speech the dramatic moment when Corinth has just presented the views of the allies. Archidamus III., son of the ruling king Agesilaus, rises in the assembly which had met to debate the question of war or peace with Thebes, and exhorts the Spartans to die rather than abandon Messene, their rightful and hereditary possession.

This stirring plea, admirably simulating the martial ardour of Spartan youth, was a remarkable performance for Isocrates in his ninetieth year. Among the ancient critics it excited general admiration as a masterpiece of finished composition, and animated style,[a] and as a model of patriotic sentiment for citizens the world over.[b]

The purpose for which it was composed is a matter of conjecture. The out-and-out pro-Spartan sentiment which runs through it does not accord with the severe strictures upon Spartan policy which Isocrates elsewhere makes. The speech has, therefore, been explained both in ancient and modern times as a rhetorical exercise. This it probably was, in the sense that the author sought to enter sympathetically into Archidamus's point of view. He liked and admired the young prince, as appears from his letter to Archidamus, written some years later, as well as from the attractive portrait which the oration itself presents. It was no doubt written partly as a personal compliment and sent to Archidamus to make such use of as he saw fit, although it is improbable, if not impossible, that it was composed for him to deliver. But it was also intended,

[a] Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, 505.
[b] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Isocrates*, ix.

certainly, as a political document, setting forth in round terms, not only the feeling of the Spartans at this time, but also the Athenian hatred of Thebes and sympathy with Sparta which were accentuated during the Theban supremacy.

In view of the allusions to the peace congress of that year, the oration may probably be dated about 366 B.C.[a]

[a] See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. p. 194.

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΣ

[116] Ἴσως τινὲς ὑμῶν θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐμμεμενηκὼς τοῖς τῆς πόλεως νομίμοις ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, τοσαύτην πεποίημαι τὴν μεταβολὴν ὥστε περὶ ὧν ὀκνοῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι λέγειν, περὶ τούτων νεώτερος ὢν παρ-
2 ελήλυθα συμβουλεύσων. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μέν τις τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ὑμῖν ἀγορεύειν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκώς, πολλὴν ἂν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· νῦν δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς μὲν συναγορεύοντας οἷς οἱ πολέμιοι προστάττουσι, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐρρωμένως ἐναντιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποσεσιωπηκότας, ἀνέστην ἀποφανούμενος ἃ γιγνώσκω περὶ τούτων, αἰσχρὸν νομίσας, εἰ τὴν ἰδίαν τοῦ βίου τάξιν διαφυλάττων περιόψομαι τὴν πόλιν ἀνάξια ψηφισαμένην ἑαυτῆς.

3 Ἡγοῦμαι δ', εἰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρέπει τοὺς τηλικούτους σιωπᾶν, περί γε τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἢ μὴ προσήκειν τούτους μάλιστα συμβουλεύειν, οἵπερ καὶ τῶν κινδύνων πλεῖστον μέρος μεθέξουσιν, ἄλλως τε δὴ καὶ τοῦ γνῶναί τι τῶν δεόντων ἐν κοινῷ καθ-
4 εστῶτος ἡμῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν δεδειγμένον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους περὶ ἁπάντων εἰδέναι τὸ

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[a] In Sparta the young were not supposed to appear in public places. Plutarch states (*Lycurgus* 25) that men were

VI. ARCHIDAMUS

Doubtless some of you are astonished that I, who heretofore have observed the customs [a] of the state more faithfully, I dare say, than any other of my generation, have now so completely changed that I have come forward, in spite of my youth, to offer counsel regarding a subject which even our elders hesitate to discuss. The fact is that if any of those who are accustomed to address you had spoken in a manner worthy of the state, I should strictly have held my peace; but now, since I see that they are either seconding the demands of the enemy, or opposing them but feebly, or have kept silent altogether, I have risen to set forth my own views on this subject, feeling that it would be disgraceful if by keeping the place appropriate to my years I should allow the state to pass measures unworthy of itself.

Moreover, I think that although on other matters it may be proper for men of my age to keep silent, yet on the question of war it is fitting that they most of all should give counsel who will also have the greatest part in the dangers, especially since the power to judge of what ought to be done is an endowment common to all of us. For if it were established that older men always know what is

not allowed even in the market-place until after they were thirty years old.

βέλτιστον, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους μηδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς ὀρθῶς
γιγνώσκειν, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν ἀπείργειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ
συμβουλεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐτῶν
πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν εὖ διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ τῇ
[117] φύσει καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις, πῶς οὐκ ἀμφοτέρων
χρὴ τῶν ἡλικιῶν πεῖραν λαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐξ ἁπάντων
ὑμῖν ἐξῇ τῶν ῥηθέντων ἑλέσθαι τὰ συμφορώτατα;
5 θαυμάζω δ' ὅσοι τριήρων μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ στρα-
τοπέδων ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσιν ἡμᾶς, ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ καλῶς
βουλευσάμενοι πολλαῖς ἂν συμφοραῖς καὶ μεγάλαις
τὴν πόλιν περιβάλοιμεν, εἰπεῖν δ' ἃ γιγνώσκομεν
περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς μέλλετε κρίνειν οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν ἡμᾶς,
ἐν οἷς κατορθώσαντες μὲν ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς ὠφελή-
σομεν, διαμαρτόντες δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας γνώμης αὐτοὶ
μὲν ἴσως φαυλότεροι δόξομεν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν
οὐδὲν ἂν ζημιώσαιμεν.

6 Οὐ μὴν ὡς ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ λέγειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἄλλως
πως παρεσκευασμένος ζῆν ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρό-
νον, οὕτως εἴρηκα περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος
ὑμᾶς προτρέψαι μηδεμίαν ἀποδοκιμάζειν τῶν ἡλι-
κιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁπάσαις ζητεῖν εἴ τίς τι δύναται περὶ
7 τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν ἀγαθόν· ὡς ἐξ
οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν, οὐδεὶς οὔτε κίνδυνος οὔτε
πόλεμος περὶ τοσούτων τὸ μέγεθος ἡμῖν γέγονε,
περὶ ὅσων νυνὶ βουλευσόμενοι συνεληλύθαμεν. πρό-
τερον μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἠγωνι-
ζόμεθα, νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτοὶ τὸ προσ-
ταττόμενον· ὃ σημεῖον ἐλευθερίας ἐστίν, ὑπὲρ ἧς
οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινῶν οὐχ ὑπομενετέον, οὐ μόνον

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[a] Archidamus had commanded Spartan armies in 371 and 367. See Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 17 and vii. 1. 28.

best, while the younger are never correct in their views, it would be right to exclude us from giving counsel; but since it is not by the number of our years that we differ in wisdom from one another, but by our natural endowments and by our cultivation of them, why should you not make trial of both the young and the old, in order that you may be in a position to choose from all courses which are proposed that which is the most expedient? I am amazed at those who think that we are fit to command ships of war and to lead armies in the field,[a] where bad judgement on our part would involve the state in many grave disasters, and yet do not think that we ought to express our views on matters which you are about to decide, wherein if we proved to be right we should benefit you all, while if, on the other hand, we failed of your assent we should ourselves perhaps suffer in reputation, but should not in any way impair the commonwealth.

It is not, I assure you, because I am ambitious to be an orator, nor because I am prepared to change my former mode of life that I have spoken as I have about these things, but because I want to urge you not to reject any time of life, but to seek among all ages for the man who can offer good advice on the problems which now confront us; for never since we have dwelt in Sparta has any war or any peril come upon us in which so much has been at stake as in this question which we are now assembled to discuss. For while in times past we fought that we might have dominion over the other states, now we must fight that we ourselves may not be forced to do their bidding—which is proof of a free spirit, to preserve which no hardship on earth is too great to endure,

ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μὴ λίαν ἀνάνδρως
διακειμένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀρετῆς ἀντι-
ποιουμένοις.

8 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, εἰ δεῖ τοὐμὸν ἴδιον εἰπεῖν, ἑλοίμην
ἂν ἀποθανεῖν ἤδη μὴ ποιήσας τὸ προσταττόμενον
μᾶλλον ἢ πολλαπλάσιον χρόνον ζῆν τοῦ τεταγμένου
ψηφισάμενος ἃ Θηβαῖοι κελεύουσιν· αἰσχυνοίμην
γὰρ ἄν, εἰ γεγονὼς μὲν ἀφ᾿ Ἡρακλέους, τοῦ δὲ
πατρὸς βασιλεύοντος, αὐτὸς δ᾿ ἐπίδοξος ὢν τυχεῖν
τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης, περιίδοιμι, καθ᾿ ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπ᾿
ἐμοί, τὴν χώραν ἣν ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες κατέλιπον,
ταύτην τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἔχοντας.
9 ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔχειν,
ἐνθυμηθέντας ὅτι μέχρι μὲν ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡμέρας
δεδυστυχηκέναι δοκοῦμεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς
[118] Θηβαίους, καὶ τοῖς μὲν σώμασι κρατηθῆναι διὰ τὸν
οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡγησάμενον, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν
10 ἀηττήτους ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ φοβηθέντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας
κινδύνους προησόμεθά τι τῶν ἡμετέρων αὐτῶν,
βεβαιώσομεν τὰς Θηβαίων ἀλαζονείας καὶ πολὺ
σεμνότερον τρόπαιον τοῦ περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ φανερώ-
τερον στήσομεν καθ᾿ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ
ἀτυχίας, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας ἔσται γεγε-
νημένον. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑμᾶς πείσῃ τοιαύταις αἰσχύ-
ναις τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν.

11 Καίτοι λίαν προθύμως οἱ σύμμαχοι συμβεβου-
λεύκασιν ὑμῖν ὡς χρὴ Μεσσήνην ἀφέντας ποιήσα-
σθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. οἷς ὑμεῖς δικαίως ἂν ὀργίζοισθε

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[a] The Spartan kings claimed descent from Heracles. *Paneg.* 62.

[b] Archidamus became king after the death of Agesilaus in 361 B.C.

not for us alone, but for all others as well who have not renounced every claim to manhood but still make even slight pretensions to courage.

As for myself, at any rate, if I may speak my own mind, I had rather die this moment for not complying with the dictates of the foe than live many times my allotted span of life at the price of voting what the Thebans demand. For I should feel disgraced, I who am descended from Heracles,[a] who am the son of the ruling king and likely myself to attain to this honour,[b] if I did not strive with all the strength that is in me to prevent this territory, which our fathers left to us, from becoming the possession of our slaves. And I expect you also to share my feelings when you reflect that, while until the present day we seem to have been unfortunate in our contest with the Thebans,[c] and to have been overcome in body because of the mistakes of our leader,[d] yet up to this moment we possess our spirits unconquered; but that if through fear of the dangers which now threaten us we relinquish anything that is ours, we shall justify the boasts of the Thebans, and erect against ourselves a trophy far more imposing and conspicuous than that which was raised at Leuctra; for the one will stand as a memorial of our ill-fortune; the other, of our abject spirit. Let no man, therefore, persuade you to fasten such a disgrace upon the state.

And yet our allies[e] have been only too zealous in advising you that you must give up Messene and make peace. Because of this they merit your

[c] Since the battle of Leuctra.

[d] Cleombrotus the king was partly blamed for the Spartan defeat at Leuctra.

[e] Especially the Corinthians. See Introduction.

πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποστᾶσιν ἡμῶν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἀφέμενοι τῆς ἡμετέρας φιλίας τὰς αὑτῶν πόλεις ἀπώλεσαν, εἰς στάσεις καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ πολιτείας πονηρὰς ἐμβαλόντες, οὗτοι δ' ἡμᾶς
12 ἥκουσι κακῶς ποιήσοντες· τὴν γὰρ δόξαν, ἣν ἡμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐν ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον, ταύτην ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πείθουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλεῖν, ἧς οὔτ' ἀπρεπεστέραν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι συμφορὰν οὔτε δεινοτέραν
13 οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν. εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἥκουσι πλεονεξίας καὶ τοσαύτην ἡμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ἀνανδρίαν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἡμᾶς ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὑτῶν πολεμεῖν, ὑπὲρ Μεσσήνης οὐκ οἴονται δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοὶ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς καρπῶνται, πειρῶνται διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ὡς χρὴ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τῆς ἡμετέρας παραχωρῆσαι, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαπειλοῦσιν ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα συγχωρήσομεν ποιησόμενοι τὴν
14 εἰρήνην κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς. ἐγὼ δ' οὐ τοσούτῳ χαλεπώτερον ἡγοῦμαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνευ τούτων, ὅσῳ καλλίω καὶ λαμπρότερον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστότερον· τὸ γὰρ μὴ δι' ἑτέρων ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι σώζεσθαι

[a] The Arcadians had joined the Thebans in invading Sparta. The Argives, Eleans, and Achaeans had also forsaken Sparta and gone over partly or wholly to the Thebans.

[b] Such disturbances and changes of government took place about this time in Arcadia, Argos, Sicyon, Elis, and Phlius. See Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 1-4. By vicious forms of government Archidamus probably refers to the democracies

indignation far more than those who revolted [a] from you at the beginning. For the latter, when they had forsaken your friendship, destroyed their own cities, plunging them into civil strife and massacres and vicious forms of government.[b] These men, on the other hand, come here to inflict injury upon us; for they are trying to persuade us to throw away in one brief hour the glory which our forefathers amid manifold dangers during the course of seven hundred years [c] acquired and bequeathed to us—a disaster more humiliating to Lacedaemon and more terrible than any other they could ever have devised. So far do they go in their selfish greed, so great is the cowardice which they impute to us, that they, who have time and again called upon us to make war in defence of their own territory,[d] think we ought not to risk battle for Messene, but, in order that they may themselves cultivate their lands in security, seek to convince us that we ought to yield to the enemy a portion of our own; and, besides all that, they threaten that if we do not comply with these terms, they will make a separate peace. For my part, I do not think that our risk without their alliance will be as much more serious for us as it will be more glorious and splendid and notable in the eyes of all mankind; for to endeavour to preserve ourselves and to prevail over our enemies, not through the aid of others, but through our own

which in various places had been set up instead of the earlier oligarchies.

[c] A round number for the period between 1104 B.C., the traditional date when the sons of Heracles took Sparta, and the date of the present oration, 366 B.C.

[d] Especially Corinth and Phlius. See Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 4. 7 and 15.

καὶ περιγενέσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὁμολογούμενον τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἔργοις ἐστίν.

15 Οὐδὲ πώποτε δὲ λόγους ἀγαπήσας, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ νομί-
[119] ζων τοὺς περὶ τοῦτο διατρίβοντας ἀργοτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὰς πράξεις, νῦν οὐδὲν ἂν περὶ πλείονος ποιησαίμην ἢ δυνηθῆναι περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ὡς βούλομαι διελθεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ παρόντι διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζω μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἂν γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει.

16 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οἶμαι δεῖν διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὃν τρόπον ἐκτησάμεθα Μεσσήνην καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ κατῳκήσατε Δωριεῖς τὸ παλαιὸν ὄντες. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ προλήψομαι πορρωτέρωθεν, ἵν' ἐπίστησθε ὅτι ταύτην ὑμᾶς τὴν χώραν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἀποστερεῖν, ἣν ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τὴν ἄλλην Λακεδαίμονα κέκτησθε δικαίως.

17 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον θεὸς ἐκ θνητοῦ γενόμενος, κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναμιν ἐν πολλοῖς πλάνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἦσαν, τελευτήσαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως κατῴκησαν ἐν Δωριεῦσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρίτης γενεᾶς ἀφίκοντο εἰς Δελφούς, χρήσασθαι τῷ μαντείῳ περί τινων βουληθέντες. ὁ δὲ θεὸς περὶ μὲν ὧν ἐπηρώτησαν οὐκ ἀνεῖλεν, ἐκέλευσε δ' αὐτοὺς
18 ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἰέναι χώραν. σκοπούμενοι δὲ τὴν μαντείαν, εὕρισκον Ἄργος μὲν κατ' ἀγχιστείαν αὐτῶν γιγνόμενον (Εὐρυσθέως γὰρ ἀποθανόντος μόνοι Περσειδῶν ἦσαν καταλελειμμένοι), Λακεδαί-

[a] An allusion to the traditional Spartan fondness for brevity and distrust of eloquence.

[b] For the return of the sons of Heracles and details connected therewith see Apollodorus ii. 8. 2-4, and Frazer's notes on this passage (Loeb Classical Library, Vol. I.). *Cf. Paneg.* 54-58 and notes.

powers, is in keeping with the past achievements of our state.

Although I have never been fond of oratory, having in fact always thought that those who cultivate the power of speech are somewhat lacking in capacity for action,[a] yet at the moment there is nothing I should value more than the ability to speak as I desire about the question now before us; for in the present crisis I am confident that with this aid I could render a very great service to the state.

First, I think that I ought to explain to you in what way we acquired Messene, and for what reasons you settled in the Peloponnesus—you who from of old are Dorians. And the reason why I shall go back to remote times is that you may understand why your enemies are trying to rob you of this country, which you acquired, no less than Lacedaemon itself, with a just title.

When Heracles had put off this life and from being mortal became a god, his sons at first went on divers wanderings and faced many perils because of the power of their enemies;[b] but after the death of Eurystheus they fixed their habitation among the Dorians. In the third generation thereafter they came to Delphi, desiring to consult the oracle about certain matters. Apollo, however, made them no answer to the questions which they asked, but merely bade them seek the country of their fathers. Searching into the meaning of the oracle, they found, first, that Argos belonged to them by right of their being next of kin, for after the death of Eurystheus they were the sole survivors of Perseus' line;[c] next, that

[c] Sthenelus, father of Eurystheus, was a son of Perseus. For the manner of Eurystheus' death see *Paneg.* 60.

μονα δὲ κατὰ δόσιν (ἐκβληθεὶς γὰρ Τυνδάρεως
ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπειδὴ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης
ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθησαν, καταγαγόντος αὐτὸν
Ἡρακλέους δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν διά τε τὴν
εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν
19 πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας), Μεσσήνην δὲ δοριάλωτον λη-
φθεῖσαν (συληθεὶς γὰρ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐκ
τῆς Ἐρυθείας ὑπὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν παίδων, πλὴν
ὑπὸ Νέστορος, λαβὼν αὐτὴν αἰχμάλωτον τοὺς μὲν
ἀδικήσαντας ἀπέκτεινεν, Νέστορι δὲ παρακατα-
τίθεται τὴν πόλιν, νομίσας αὐτὸν εὖ φρονεῖν ὅτι
νεώτατος ὢν οὐ συνεξήμαρτε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς).
20 Ὑπολαβόντες δ' οὕτως ἔχειν τὴν μαντείαν, καὶ
τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ὑμετέρους παραλαβόντες καὶ
στρατόπεδον συστησάμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν χώραν
[120] εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς συνακολουθήσασιν ἔδοσαν, τὴν
δὲ βασιλείαν ἐξαίρετον αὐτοὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἔλαβον,
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις. πίστεις ἀλλήλοις δόντες ἐποιοῦντο
21 τὴν στρατείαν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν κινδύνους τοὺς ἐν τῇ
πορείᾳ γενομένους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὰς οὐδὲν
πρὸς τὸ παρὸν φερούσας τί δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν;
πολέμῳ δὲ κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τόποις τοῖς

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[a] Tyndareus, son of Perieres and of Perseus' daughter, Gorgophone, was king of Lacedaemon until driven out by his half-brother Hippocoön and by Hippocoön's sons. See Apollodorus iii. 10. 5.

[b] Heracles slew Hippocoön and his twenty sons and restored Tyndareus.

[c] Castor was slain during a foray in Messene. His brother, Polydeuces, who according to most accounts was a son of Zeus by Leda, while Castor was a son of Tyndareus by Leda, refused to accept immortality unless it was shared by his brother. Zeus, therefore, granted that the two brothers dwell, on alternate days, among the gods and

Lacedaemon was theirs by right of gift, for when Tyndareus, having been driven from his throne,[a] was restored to it by Heracles,[b] after Castor and Polydeuces had vanished from among men,[c] he gave the land to Heracles because of this act of kindness and also because of the kinship of Heracles and his own sons; and lastly, they found that Messene was theirs as a prize taken in war, for Heracles, when he had been robbed of the cattle from Erytheia [d] by Neleus and all his sons except Nestor, had taken the country captive and slain the offenders, but had committed the city to Nestor's charge, believing him to be prudent, because, although the youngest of his brethren, he had taken no part in their iniquity.

Assuming this to be the purport of the oracle, they joined forces with your forefathers and organized an army, sharing meantime their own country with their followers,[e] but receiving from them the kingship as the prize reserved for themselves alone; then having confirmed these covenants by mutual pledges, they set out upon the expedition. The perils which befell them on the march, and the other incidents [f] which have no bearing on the present theme, I need not take the time to describe. Let it suffice that, having conquered in war those who

among men. According to others, both were sons of Zeus. Hence Isocrates can refer to their kinship with Heracles, the son of Zeus and Alcmene. See Apollodorus iii. 11. 2 and Isocrates, *Helen* 61.

[d] To fetch the cattle of Geryon from Erytheia, an island off the coast of Spain, was the tenth labour imposed on Heracles by Eurystheus. See Apollodorus ii. 5. 10.

[e] That is, the common folk of the Dorians as distinguished from the descendants of Heracles, the ancestors of Archidamus.

[f] Such as are told in Apollodorus ii. 8. 3.

εἰρημένοις κατοικοῦντας τριχῇ διείλοντο τὰς βασιλείας.

Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐμμένετε ταῖς συνθήκαις καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις, οὓς ἐποιήσασθε
22 πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους· διὸ καὶ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἄμεινον τῶν ἄλλων ἐφέρεσθε, καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα προσδοκᾶν χρὴ τοιούτους ὄντας βέλτιον ἢ νῦν πράξειν. Μεσσήνιοι δ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀσεβείας ἦλθον, ὥστ' ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν Κρεσφόντην, τὸν οἰκιστὴν μὲν τῆς πόλεως, κύριον δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἔκγονον δ' Ἡρακλέους, αὑτῶν δ'
23 ἡγεμόνα γεγενημένον. διαφυγόντες δ' οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ τοὺς κινδύνους ἱκέται κατέστησαν ταυτησὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἀξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν τῷ τεθνεῶτι καὶ τὴν χώραν διδόντες ἡμῖν. ἐπερόμενοι δὲ τὸν θεόν, κἀκείνου προστάξαντος δέχεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρεῖν τοῖς ἠδικημένοις, ἐκπολιορκήσαντες Μεσσηνίους οὕτως ἐκτήσασθε τὴν χώραν.

24 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαρξάντων ἡμῖν ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐ διῆλθον (ὁ γὰρ παρὼν καιρὸς οὐκ ἐᾷ μυθολογεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν συντομώτερον ἢ σαφέστερον διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν), οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τούτων οἶμαι πᾶσι φανερὸν εἶναι διότι τὴν ὁμολογουμένην ἡμετέραν εἶναι χώραν οὐδὲν διαφερόντως κεκτημένοι τυγχάνομεν ἢ τὴν ἀμφισβητουμένην. ταύτην τε γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν δόντων μὲν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ, πολέμῳ δὲ κρατή-

[a] Procles and Eurysthenes, twin sons of Aristodemus, along with Temenos and Cresphontes, sons of Aristomachus, drew lots for Argos, Lacedaemon, and Messene.

[b] According to the usual account, it was Aepytus, a son

dwelt in the regions which I have mentioned, they divided their kingdom into three parts.[a]

Now you men of Sparta have until this day remained faithful to the oaths and to the covenants which you made with my forefathers; therefore in time past you have fared better than the rest of the world, and in time to come you may reasonably hope, if you continue as you have been, to fare better than at present. But the Messenians went so far in their wickedness that they plotted against and slew Cresphontes, albeit he was the founder of their state, the sovereign of their land, a descendant of Heracles, and once the leader of their armies. His sons, however, escaped the perils which confronted them and threw themselves upon the mercy of Sparta, beseeching us to come to the aid of their dead father[b] and offering us their land. And you, after inquiring of Apollo, and being directed by him to accept this gift and avenge the wronged, thereupon beleaguered the Messenians, forced them to surrender, and thus gained possession of their territory.

I have not, it is true, recounted in detail our original titles to this land (for the present occasion does not permit me to go into legendary history, and I have had to set them forth with too great brevity for clearness); yet I am sure that even this brief statement makes it evident to all that there is no difference whatever between the way in which we acquired the land which is acknowledged to be ours and the land to which our claim is disputed. For we inhabit Lacedaemon because the sons of Heracles gave it to us, because Apollo directed us to do so,

of Cresphontes, who avenged the death of his father. Apollodorus ii. 8. 5.

σαντες τοὺς ἔχοντας· ἐκείνην τ' ἐλάβομεν παρὰ τῶν
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ταῖς μαντείαις
25 χρησάμενοι ταῖς αὐταῖς. εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχομεν
ὥστε μηδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς ἀντιλέγειν, μηδ' ἐὰν αὐτὴν
τὴν Σπάρτην ἐκλιπεῖν προστάττωσιν ἡμῖν, περί-
εργόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ Μεσσήνης σπουδάζειν· εἰ δὲ
μηδεὶς ἂν ὑμῶν ἀξιώσειε ζῆν ἀποστερούμενος τῆς
πατρίδος, προσήκει καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης τὴν αὐτὴν
[121] ὑμᾶς γνώμην ἔχειν. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ δικαιώματα καὶ
τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους περὶ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἔχομεν
εἰπεῖν.

26 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' ὑμᾶς λέληθεν, ὅτι τὰς
κτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἰδίας καὶ τὰς κοινάς, ἂν ἐπι-
γένηται πολὺς χρόνος, κυρίας καὶ πατρῴας ἅπαντες
εἶναι νομίζουσιν. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν Μεσσήνην εἵλομεν
πρὶν Πέρσας λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κρατῆσαι
τῆς ἠπείρου, καὶ πρὶν οἰκισθῆναί τινας τῶν πόλεων
27 τῶν Ἑλληνίδων. καὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων
τῷ μὲν βαρβάρῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς πατρῴαν οὖσαν
ἀποδιδόασιν, ὃς οὔπω διακόσι' ἔτη κατέσχηκε τὴν
ἀρχήν, ἡμᾶς δὲ Μεσσήνην ἀποστεροῦσιν, οἳ πλέον
διπλάσιον χρόνον ἢ τοσοῦτον τυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες
αὐτήν· καὶ Θεσπιὰς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς ἐχθὲς καὶ
πρώην ἀναστάτους πεποιήκασι, ταύτην δὲ διὰ
τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν μέλλουσι κατοικίζειν, ἀμφότερα

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[a] In 559 B.C., when Cyrus became ruler of Persia.

[b] By the peace terms of Pelopidas. See introduction to this oration.

[c] Messene was not actually subdued until 724–723 B.C. Perhaps Isocrates is speaking loosely, or perhaps he follows another source than Pausanias, who is almost our sole authority for this period. However, the conquests of Alcamenes took place about 786 B.C., and Isocrates perhaps

and because we fought and conquered those who held it; and Messene we received from the same people, in the same way, and by taking the advice of the same oracle. To be sure, if we are in a mood not to defend our title to anything, not even if they demand that we abandon Sparta itself, it is idle to be concerned about Messene; but if not one of you would consent to live if torn from the fatherland, then you ought to be of the same mind about that country; for in both cases we can advance the same justifications and the same reasons for our claim.

Then again you are doubtless well aware that possessions, whether private or public, when they have remained for a long time in the hands of their owner, are by all men acknowledged to be hereditary and incontestable. Now we took Messene before the Persians acquired their kingdom[a] and became masters of the continent, in fact before a number of the Hellenic cities were even founded. And yet notwithstanding that we hold these titles, the Thebans would on the one hand restore Asia as his ancestral right to the barbarian,[b] who has not yet held sway over it for two hundred years, while on the other hand they would rob us of Messene, which we have held for more than twice that length of time;[c] and although it was only the other day that they razed both Thespiae and Plataea to the ground,[d] yet now, after a lapse of four hundred years, they propose to settle their colonists in Messene—acting

refers to this or a similar event. See Pausanias iv. 4. 3. Dinarchus (*Against Demosthenes* 73) gives the same figure as Isocrates.

[d] Plataea was destroyed about 372 B.C., and Thespiae shortly after. See Diodorus xv. 46. 4 and Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 3. 1. Others give the date as 374 B.C.

παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας πράττοντες.
28 καὶ εἰ μὲν τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς Μεσσηνίους κατῆγον, ἠδίκουν μὲν ἄν, ὅμως δ' εὐλογωτέρως ἂν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξημάρτανον· νῦν δὲ τοὺς Εἵλωτας ὁμόρους ἡμῖν παρακατοικίζουσιν, ὥστε μὴ τοῦτ' εἶναι χαλεπώτατον, εἰ τῆς χώρας στερησόμεθα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' εἰ τοὺς δούλους τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐποψόμεθα κυρίους αὐτῆς ὄντας.

29 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν ἐχομένων γνώσεσθε σαφέστερον ὅτι καὶ νῦν δεινὰ πάσχομεν καὶ τότε Μεσσήνην εἴχομεν δικαίως. πολλῶν γὰρ κινδύνων ἡμῖν γεγενημένων ἤδη ποτὲ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἠναγκάσθημεν πολὺ χεῖρον πράττοντες τῶν πολεμίων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐν τοιούτοις καιροῖς γιγνομένων τῶν
30 συνθηκῶν, ἐν οἷς οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν πλεονεκτεῖν, περὶ μὲν ἄλλων τινῶν ἀμφισβητήσεις ἐγίγνοντο, περὶ δὲ Μεσσήνης οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὔθ' ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις οὐδὲ πώποθ' ἡμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν ὡς ἀδίκως κεκτημένοις αὐτήν. καίτοι πῶς ἂν περὶ τοῦ δικαίου κρίσιν ἀκριβεστέραν ταύτης εὕροιμεν τῆς ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐγνωσμένης, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμετέραις δυσπραξίαις γεγενημένης;

31 Τὸ τοίνυν μαντεῖον, ὃ πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν
[122] ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι καὶ κοινότατον καὶ πιστότατον, οὐ μόνον ἔγνω τόθ' ἡμετέραν εἶναι Μεσσήνην, ὅτε διδόντων ἡμῖν αὐτὴν τῶν Κρεσφόντου παίδων προσέταξε δέχεσθαι τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μακροῦ γι-

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[a] *Cf.* the Peace of Antalcidas. See *Paneg.* 115 ff. and note.

[b] See introduction.

[c] Such were the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C., Thucyd. v. 18),

in both cases contrary to the oaths and covenants.[a] Were they restoring those who are truly Messenians, they would still be acting unjustly, but at least they would have a more plausible pretext for wronging us; but as the case stands, it is the Helots whom they are trying to settle on our frontier,[b] so that the worst fate which threatens us is not that we shall be robbed of our land contrary to justice, but that we shall see our slaves made masters of it.

You will perceive still more clearly from what follows both that we are now dealt with most unfairly and that in the past we held Messene justly. For in the many wars which have befallen us we have before this at times been forced to make peace when we were in much worse case than our foes.[c] But, although our treaties were concluded under circumstances in which it was impossible for us to seek any advantage, yet, while there were other matters about which differences arose, neither the Great King nor the city of Athens ever charged us with having acquired Messene unjustly. And yet how could we find a more thoroughgoing judgement on the justice of our case than this, which was rendered by our enemies and made at a time when we were beset with misfortunes?

That oracle, moreover, which all would acknowledge to be the most ancient and the most widely accepted and the most trustworthy in existence, recognized Messene as ours, not only at the time when it commanded us to receive the country as a gift from the sons of Cresphontes and to go to the aid of the wronged, but also later, when the war

the Peace of Antalcidas, and the separate peace between Athens and Sparta (Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 2. 1).

γνομένου πεμψάντων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Δελφούς, κἀκείνων μὲν σωτηρίαν αἰτούντων, ἡμῶν δ' ἐπερωτώντων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τάχιστ' ἂν κρατήσαιμεν τῆς πόλεως, τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνεῖλεν ὡς οὐ δικαίαν ποιουμένοις τὴν αἴτησιν, ἡμῖν δ' ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἃς ἔδει ποιήσασθαι καὶ βοήθειαν παρ' ὧν μεταπέμψασθαι.

32 Καίτοι *πῶς ἄν τις μαρτυρίαν μείζω καὶ σαφεστέραν τούτων παράσχοιτο; φαινόμεθα γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν παρὰ τῶν κυρίων τὴν χώραν λαβόντες (οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει πάλιν διὰ βραχέων περὶ αὐτῶν διελθεῖν), ἔπειτα κατὰ πόλεμον αὐτὴν ἑλόντες, ὅνπερ τρόπον αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν πόλεων περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ᾠκίσθησαν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἠσεβηκότας εἰς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς* Ἡρακλέους *ἐκβεβληκότες, οἳ δικαίως ἂν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπερωρίσθησαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρίσει καὶ ταῖς τοῦ*
33 *θεοῦ μαντείαις προσηκόντως ἔχοντες αὐτήν. ὧν ἓν ἕκαστον ἱκανόν ἐστι διαλῦσαι τοὺς λόγους τῶν τολμώντων κατηγορεῖν ὡς ἢ νῦν διὰ πλεονεξίαν οὐ ποιούμεθα τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τότε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς* Μεσσηνίους. *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κτήσεως ἔνεστι μὲν ἴσως πλείω τούτων εἰπεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦθ' ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω.*

34 Λέγουσι *δ' οἱ συμβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς χρὴ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐ-*

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[a] In the second Messenian War, 685–668 B.C., the

dragged on and both sides sent delegations to Delphi, the Messenians appealing for deliverance and we inquiring how we could most speedily make ourselves masters of their city, the god gave them no answer, thus showing that their appeal was unjust, while to us he revealed both what sacrifices we should perform and to whom we should send for aid.[a]

And yet how could anyone furnish testimony more significant or clearer than this? For it has been shown, first of all (since nothing prevents our restating these points briefly), that we received the country from its rightful owners; secondly, that we took it by war, precisely as most of the cities in those days were founded; further, that we drove out those who had grievously sinned against the children of Heracles—men who by right should have been banished from the sight of all mankind; and, finally, it has been shown that the length of our tenure, the judgement of our enemies, and the oracles of Apollo all confirm our right to the possession of Messene. Anyone of these facts is enough to refute the assertions of those who presume to allege against us either that we now refuse to conclude peace because of a desire for aggrandizement, or that we then made war on the Messenians because we coveted what was not our own. I might perhaps say more than this about our acquisition of Messene, but I consider what I have already said to be sufficient.

Those who advise us to make peace declare that prudent men ought not to take the same view of things in fortunate as in unfortunate circumstances,

Athenians are said to have sent Tyrtaeus, the lame schoolmaster, to the aid of the Spartans. See Pausanias iv. 15.

τυχοῦντας καὶ δυστυχοῦντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν
ἀεὶ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ ταῖς τύχαις ἐπακολουθεῖν καὶ
μὴ μεῖζον φρονεῖν τῆς δυνάμεως, μηδὲ τὸ δίκαιον
ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον ζητεῖν.
35 Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογῶ τούτοις,
ὅπως δὲ χρὴ τοῦ δικαίου ποιεῖσθαί τι προὐργιαί-
[123] τερον οὐδεὶς ἄν με λέγων πείσειεν. ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ
τοὺς νόμους ἕνεκα τούτου κειμένους, καὶ τοὺς
ἄνδρας τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ φιλο-
τιμουμένους, καὶ τὰς εὖ πολιτευομένας πόλεις περὶ
36 τούτου μάλιστα σπουδαζούσας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς πολέ-
μους τοὺς προγεγενημένους οὐ κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις
ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὸ τέλος ἅπαντας εἰληφότας,
ὅλως δὲ τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ μὲν κακίαν
ἀπολλύμενον, δι' ἀρετὴν δὲ σωζόμενον. ὥστ' οὐκ
ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων κινδυνεύειν
μέλλοντας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας καὶ
τοὺς τὰς εὐτυχίας μὴ μετρίως φέρειν ἐπισταμένους.
37 Ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνο χρὴ σκοπεῖν· νυνὶ γὰρ περὶ μὲν
τοῦ δικαίου πάντες τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχομεν,
περὶ δὲ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀντιλέγομεν. δυοῖν δὲ
προτεινομένοιν ἀγαθοῖν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄντος προ-
δήλου τοῦ δὲ ἀγνοουμένου, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιτε
καταγέλαστον, εἰ τὸ μὲν ὁμολογούμενον ἀπο-
δοκιμάσαιτε, τὸ δ' ἀμφισβητούμενον ἑλέσθαι δό-
ξειεν ὑμῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς αἱρέσεως τοσοῦτον
38 διαφερούσης; ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστι
μηδὲν μὲν προέσθαι τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν μηδ'
αἰσχύνῃ μηδεμιᾷ τὴν πόλιν περιβαλεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ
τῶν δικαίων κινδυνεύοντας ἐλπίζειν ἄμεινον ἀγω-

[a] For this Isocratean idealism *cf. Peace* 31-35.
[b] *Cf. To Demonicus* 42 and *Panath.* 31, 32.

but rather that they should always consult their immediate situation and accommodate themselves to their fortunes, and should never entertain ambitions beyond their power, but should at such times seek, not their just rights but their best interests.

In all else I agree with them, but no man could ever persuade me that one should ever deem anything to be of greater consequence than justice ;[a] for I see that our laws have been made to secure it, that men of character and reputation pride themselves upon practising it, and that it constitutes the chief concern of all well-regulated states ; further, I observe that the wars of the past have in the end been decided, not in accordance with the strongest forces, but in accordance with justice ; and that, in general, the life of man is destroyed by vice and preserved by virtue. Therefore those should not lack courage who are about to take up arms in a just cause, but far more those who are insolent and do not know how to bear their good fortune with moderation.[b]

Then, too, there is this point to consider : At present we are all agreed as to what is just, while we differ as to what is expedient. But now that two good things are set before us, the one evident, the other doubtful, how ridiculous you would make yourselves if you should reject that course which is acknowledged to be good and decide to take that which is debatable, especially when your choice is a matter of such importance ! For according to my proposal you would not relinquish a single one of your possessions nor fasten any disgrace upon the state ; nay, on the contrary, you would have good hope that taking up arms in a just cause you would

νιεῖσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τούτων ἀφεστάναι
μὲν ἤδη Μεσσήνης, προεξαμαρτόντας δὲ τοῦτ' εἰς
ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τυχὸν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος καὶ τοῦ
δικαίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὧν προσδοκᾶτε
39 διαμαρτεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτό πω φανερόν ἐστιν,
ὡς ἂν ποιήσωμεν τὰ κελευόμενα, βεβαίως ἤδη τὴν
εἰρήνην ἄξομεν. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι
πάντες εἰώθασι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀμυνομένους περὶ
τῶν δικαίων διαλέγεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ λίαν ἑτοίμως
ποιοῦσι τὸ προσταττόμενον ἀεὶ πλείω προσεπι-
βάλλειν οἷς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διανοηθῶσιν, ὥστε συμ-
βαίνειν βελτίονος εἰρήνης τυγχάνειν τοὺς πολεμικῶς
διακειμένους τῶν ῥᾳδίως τὰς ὁμολογίας ποιου-
μένων.

40 Ἵνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ περὶ ταῦτα πολὺν χρόνον δια-
τρίβειν, ἁπάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἀφέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν
[124] ἁπλούστατον ἤδη τρέψομαι τῶν λόγων. εἰ μὲν
γὰρ μηδένες πώποτε τῶν δυστυχησάντων ἀνέλαβον
αὑτοὺς μηδ' ἐπεκράτησαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐδ' ἡμᾶς
εἰκὸς ἐλπίζειν περιγενήσεσθαι πολεμοῦντας· εἰ δὲ
πολλάκις γέγονεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μείζω δύναμιν
ἔχοντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων κρατηθῆναι καὶ
τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ὑπὸ τῶν κατακεκλειμένων
διαφθαρῆναι, τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὰ νῦν καθ-
εστῶτα λήψεταί τινα μετάστασιν;

41 Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως οὐδὲν ἔχω
τοιοῦτον εἰπεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα χρόνοις
οὐδένες πώποτε κρείττους ἡμῶν εἰς ταύτην τὴν
χώραν εἰσέβαλον· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς ἂν
τις παραδείγμασι χρήσαιτο, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τῆς

[a] That is, before the Theban invasion of 369 B.C.

fight better than your foes. According to their proposal, on the other hand, you would withdraw at once from Messene, and, having first committed this wrong against yourselves, you would perhaps fail to secure both what is expedient and what is just — and everything else which you expect to gain. For as yet it is by no means evident that if we do as we are bidden we shall henceforth enjoy a lasting peace. For I think you are not unaware that all men are wont to discuss just terms with those who defend their rights, while in the case of those who are over-ready to do what they are commanded they keep adding more and more to the conditions which at first they intended to impose; and thus it happens that men of a warlike temper obtain a more satisfactory peace than those who too readily come to terms.

But lest I should seem to dwell too long on this point, I shall abandon all such considerations and turn at once to the simplest of my proofs. If no people, after meeting with misfortune, ever recovered themselves or mastered their enemies, then we cannot reasonably hope to win victory in battle; but if on many occasions it has happened that the stronger power has been vanquished by the weaker, and that the besiegers have been destroyed by those confined within the walls, what wonder if our own circumstances likewise should undergo a change?

Now in the case of Sparta I can cite no instance of this kind, for in times past no nation stronger than ourselves ever invaded our territory; [a] but in the case of other states there are many such examples which one might use, and especially is this true of

42 πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων. τούτους γὰρ εὑρήσομεν,
ἐξ ὧν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις προσέταττον, πρὸς τοὺς
Ἕλληνας διαβληθέντας, ἐξ ὧν δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας
ἠμύναντο, παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμήσαντας.
τοὺς μὲν οὖν παλαιοὺς κινδύνους εἰ διεξιοίην, οὓς
ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας ἢ Θρᾷκας ἢ Πελο-
ποννησίους τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν
αὐτῶν εἰσβαλόντας, ἴσως ἀρχαῖα καὶ πόρρω τῶν
νῦν παρόντων λέγειν ἂν δοκοίην· ἐν δὲ τῷ Περ-
σικῷ πολέμῳ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ἐξ οἵων συμφορῶν εἰς
43 ὅσην εὐδαιμονίαν κατέστησαν; μόνοι γὰρ τῶν ἔξω
Πελοποννήσου κατοικούντων, ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν
βαρβάρων δύναμιν ἀνυπόστατον οὖσαν, οὐκ ἠξίωσαν
βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν προσταττομένων αὐτοῖς,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἵλοντο περιιδεῖν ἀνάστατον τὴν πόλιν
γεγενημένην μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύουσαν. ἐκλιπόντες
δὲ τὴν χώραν, καὶ πατρίδα μὲν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
νομίσαντες, κοινωνήσαντες δὲ τῶν κινδύνων ἡμῖν,
τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἔτυχον, ὥστε ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
στερηθέντες τῶν αὐτῶν πολὺν χρόνον τῶν ἄλλων
δεσπόται κατέστησαν.

44 Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐπὶ ταύτης ἄν τις τῆς πόλεως ἐπι-
δείξειε τὸ τολμᾶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ὡς πολ-
λῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ τύ-
ραννος καταστὰς εἰς πολιορκίαν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων,
οὐδεμιᾶς αὐτῷ σωτηρίας ὑποφαινομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ
[125] τῷ πολέμῳ κατεχόμενος καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δυσκό-
λως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμέλλησεν

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[a] See *Paneg.* 56 and 70. [b] See *Paneg.* 71-98.

[c] These terms were to give earth and water, in token of

the city of the Athenians. For we shall find that as a result of dictating to others they lost repute with the Hellenes, while by defending themselves against insolent invaders they won fame among all mankind. Now if I were to recount the wars of old which they fought against the Amazons or the Thracians or the Peloponnesians [a] who under the leadership of Eurystheus invaded Attica, no doubt I should be thought to speak on matters ancient and remote from the present situation ; but in their war against the Persians,[b] who does not know from what hardships they arose to great good-fortune ? For they alone of those who dwelt outside of the Peloponnesus, although they saw that the strength of the barbarians was irresistible, did not think it honourable to consider the terms imposed upon them,[c] but straightway chose to see their city ravaged rather than enslaved. Leaving their own country,[d] and adopting Freedom as their fatherland, they shared the dangers of war with us, and wrought such a change in their fortunes that, after being deprived of their own possessions for but a few days, they became for many years masters of the rest of the world.[e]

Athens, however, is not the only instance by which one might show how great are the advantages of daring to resist one's enemies. There is also the case of the tyrant Dionysius, who, when he was besieged by the Carthaginians, seeing not a glimmer of hope for deliverance, but being hard pressed both by the war and by the disaffection of his citizens, was, for his part, on the point of sailing away, when one of

submission, to the heralds of the Great King. Herod. vii. 133. [d] *Cf. Paneg.* 96. [e] *Cf. Paneg.* 72.

ἐκπλεῖν, τῶν δὲ χρωμένων τινὸς τολμήσαντος
45 εἰπεῖν ὡς καλόν ἐστιν ἐντάφιον ἡ τυραννίς, αἰσχυνθεὶς ἐφ᾽ οἷς διενοήθη καὶ πάλιν ἐπιχειρήσας πολεμεῖν πολλὰς μὲν μυριάδας Καρχηδονίων διέφθειρεν, ἐγκρατεστέραν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν κατεστήσατο, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν δύναμιν τὴν αὑτοῦ τῆς πρότερον ὑπαρχούσης ἐκτήσατο, τυραννῶν δὲ τὸν βίον διετέλεσε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ δυναστείαις, ἐν αἷσπερ αὐτὸς ἦν, κατέλιπεν.

46 Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις Ἀμύντας ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔπραξεν. ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν προσοικούντων μάχῃ καὶ πάσης Μακεδονίας ἀποστερηθεὶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν διενοήθη καὶ τὸ σῶμα διασώζειν, ἀκούσας δέ τινος ἐπαινοῦντος τὸ πρὸς Διονύσιον ῥηθέν, καὶ μεταγνοὺς ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, χωρίον μικρὸν καταλαβὼν καὶ βοήθειαν ἐνθένδε μεταπεμψάμενος ἐντὸς μὲν τριῶν μηνῶν κατέσχεν ἅπασαν Μακεδονίαν, τὸν δ᾽ ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον βασιλεύων γήρᾳ τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

47 Ἀπείποιμεν δ᾽ ἂν ἀκούοντές τε καὶ λέγοντες, εἰ πάσας τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις ἐξετάζοιμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν περὶ Θήβας πραχθέντων εἰ μνησθείημεν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἂν λυπηθεῖμεν, περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων βελτίους ἐλπίδας ἂν λάβοιμεν. τολμησάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπομεῖναι τὰς εἰσβολὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἡμετέρας, εἰς τοῦθ᾽ ἡ τύχη τὰ πράγ-

[a] That is, it is a glorious thing to die a king. For the event, 396 B.C., see Diodorus xiv. 58, and for the anecdote, Diodorus xiv. 8. 5 and Aelian, *Variae Historiae*, iv. 8.

[b] Diodorus, xiv. 72. 6, says the shore was strewn with corpses.

his companions made bold to declare that "royalty is a glorious shroud."[a] Ashamed of what he had planned to do, and taking up the war afresh, he destroyed countless hosts of the Carthaginians,[b] strengthened his authority over his subjects, acquired far greater dominion than he had possessed before, ruled with absolute power until his death,[c] and left his son in possession of the same honours and powers as he himself had enjoyed.

Similar to this was the career of Amyntas, king of the Macedonians. Worsted in battle by the neighbouring barbarians, and robbed of all Macedonia, he at first proposed to quit the country and save his life, but hearing someone praise the remark made to Dionysius, and, like Dionysius, repenting of his decision, Amyntas seized a small fortified post, sent out thence for reinforcements, recovered the whole of Macedonia within three months, spent the remainder of his days on the throne, and finally died of old age.[d]

But we should both grow weary, you with listening and I with speaking, if we were to examine every incident of this sort; nay, if we were to recall also our experience with Thebes, while we should be grieved over past events, we should gain better hopes for the future. For when they ventured to withstand our inroads and our threats,[e] fortune so completely reversed their situation that they, who

[c] Dionysius died in the spring of 367 B.C.

[d] Amyntas, defeated by the Illyrians, won such a victory in 393 B.C. See Diodorus xiv. 92. 3. Amyntas was father of Philip, and reigned from 394 to 370 B.C.

[e] Of Agesilaus in 394, 378, and 377 B.C.; of Phoebidas in 382, and of Cleombrotusi n 378 and 376 B.C.

ματ' αὐτῶν περιέστησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὑφ' ἡμῖν ὄντες νῦν ἡμῖν προστάττειν ἀξιοῦσιν.

48 Ὅστις οὖν ὁρῶν τοσαύτας μεταβολὰς γεγενημένας ἐφ' ἡμῶν οἴεται παύσεσθαι, λίαν ἀνόητός ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καρτερεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ θαρρεῖν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι τὰς τοιαύτας συμφορὰς αἱ πόλεις ἐπανορθοῦνται πολιτείᾳ χρηστῇ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίαις. περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἂν τολμήσειεν ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς οὐ τὴν μὲν ἐμπειρίαν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἔχομεν, πολιτείαν δ'
[126] οἵαν εἶναι χρή, παρὰ μόνοις ἡμῖν ἐστιν. ὧν ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἄμεινον πράξομεν τῶν μηδετέρου τούτων πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιημένων.

49 Κατηγοροῦσι δέ τινες τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ διεξέρχονται τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτοῦ, τεκμηρίοις ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς χρώμενοι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγενημένοις, καὶ θαυμάζουσιν εἴ τινες οὕτω χαλεπῷ καὶ παραβόλῳ πράγματι πιστεύειν ἀξιοῦσιν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν οἶδα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον μεγάλην εὐδαιμονίαν κτησαμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ τῆς ὑπ-
50 αρχούσης ἀποστερηθέντας διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἀποτόμως οὔτε κακὸν οὔτ' ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν χρήσηταί τις τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς, οὕτως ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ τέλος ἐκβαίνειν ἐξ αὐτῶν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς μὲν εὖ πράττοντας τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ καταστάσει πλεῖστον ἄν τις χρόνον τὰ παρόντα διαφυλάξειεν· τοὺς δὲ δυστυχοῦντας τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς

at all other times have been in our power, now assert their right to dictate to us.

Seeing, then, that such great reversals have taken place, he is a very foolish person who thinks that they will fail to occur in our case ; nay, we must endure for the present and be of good courage with regard to the future, knowing that states repair such disasters by the aid of good government and experience in warfare ; and on this point no one would dare contradict me when I say that we have greater experience in military matters than any other people, and that government as it ought to be exists among us alone. With these two advantages on our side, we cannot fail to prove more successful in our undertakings than those who have paid but slight attention to either government or war.

There are those who condemn war and dwell on its precariousness, employing many other proofs, but particularly our own experiences, and express surprise that men should see fit to rely on an expedient so difficult and hazardous.

But I know of many who through war have acquired great prosperity, and many who have been robbed of all they possessed through keeping the peace ; for nothing of this kind is in itself absolutely either good or bad, but rather it is the use we make of circumstances and opportunities which in either case must determine the result. Those who are prosperous should set their hearts on peace, for in a state of peace they can preserve their present condition for the greatest length of time ; those, however, who are unfortunate should give their minds to war, for out of the confusion and innovation resulting from it they can more quickly secure a

καινουργίας θᾶττον ἂν μεταβολῆς τύχοιεν. ὧν ἡμεῖς δέδοικα μὴ τἀναντία πράττοντες φανῶμεν·
51 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐξῆν ἡμῖν τρυφᾶν, πλείους τοὺς πολέμους ἐποιούμεθα τοῦ δέοντος, ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς ἀνάγκην καθέσταμεν ὥστε κινδυνεύειν, ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμοῦμεν καὶ περὶ ἀσφαλείας βουλευόμεθα. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς βουλομένους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων συνθήκας φεύγειν ὡς ἐγγὺς δουλείας οὔσας, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς διαλλαγάς, ὅταν ἢ περιγένωνται τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν αὑτῶν ἐξισώσωσιν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων· ὡς τοιαύτην ἕκαστοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἕξουσιν, οἵαν περ ἂν τοῦ πολέμου ποιήσωνται τὴν κατάλυσιν.

52 Ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους χρὴ μὴ προπετῶς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς αἰσχρὰς ὁμολογίας, μηδὲ ῥᾳθυμότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ τῶν ἄλλων φανῆναι βουλευομένους. ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, εἰ πολιορκουμένῃ τινὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν συμμαχίδων εἷς μόνος Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθήσειεν, ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὡμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς. καὶ
[127] τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄν τις ἀκούσειεν, τοὺς δ' ὀνομα-
53 στοτάτους ἔχω κἀγὼ διελθεῖν. Πεδάριτος μὲν γὰρ εἰς Χίον εἰσπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διέσωσε· Βρασίδας δ' εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν εἰσελθών, ὀλίγους περὶ αὑτὸν τῶν πολιορκουμένων συνταξάμενος, πολλοὺς ὄντας τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐνίκησε μαχόμενος·

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[a] Harmost of Chios in 412 B.C., who was successful against the Athenians for a time, but was defeated and slain in 412 B.C. See Thucyd. viii. 55. 3.

change in their fortunes. But we, I fear, will be seen to have pursued exactly the opposite course; for when we might have lived at ease, we made more wars than were necessary, but now, when we have no choice but to risk battle, we desire tranquillity and deliberate about our own security. And yet those who wish to be free ought to shun a peace whose terms are dictated by the enemy as being not far removed from slavery, and should make treaties only when they have defeated their adversaries, or when they have made their forces equal to those of the enemy; for the kind of peace which each side will obtain will be decided by the manner in which they conclude the war.

Bearing these facts in mind, you must not rashly commit yourselves to shameful terms, nor let it appear that you are more remiss in your deliberations about your country than about the rest of the world. Let me recall to your minds that formerly, if a single Lacedaemonian gave aid to one of our allied cities when it was pressed by siege, all men would concede that its deliverance was due to him. Now the older among you could name the greater number of these men, but I, too, can recount the most illustrious of them: Pedaritus,[a] sailing to Chios, saved that city; Brasidas entered Amphipolis and, having rallied about him a few of those who were under siege, defeated the besiegers[b] in battle in spite of their numbers; Gylippus, by

[b] Brasidas entered Amphipolis in 422 B.C., and in command of 150 hoplites sallied out against Cleon, the Athenian general. The greater part of the besieged forces was commanded by Clearidas. Brasidas lost his life in the engagement which followed, and became after his death a local hero at Amphipolis. See Thucyd. v. 8-11.

Γύλιππος δὲ Συρακοσίοις βοηθήσας οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους διέσωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν κρατοῦσαν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἅπασαν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβεν.

54 Καίτοι πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τότε μὲν ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις διαφυλάττειν, νυνὶ δὲ πάντας μηδὲ πειρᾶσθαι τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν διασώζειν; καὶ τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεστὴν πεποιηκέναι τροπαίων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμοῦντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος οὕτω φανερῶς ὑβριζομένης μηδὲ μίαν μάχην ἀξίαν
55 λόγου φαίνεσθαι μεμαχημένους; ἀλλ' ἑτέρας μὲν πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομεῖναι πολιορκίας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἡμᾶς, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀναγκασθῆναι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ποιεῖν, μηδὲ μικρὰν οἴεσθαι δεῖν ὑπενεγκεῖν κακοπάθειαν, ἀλλὰ ζεύγη μὲν ἵππων ἀδηφαγούντων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶσθαι τρέφοντας, ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς εἰς τὰς δεινοτάτας ἀνάγκας ἀφιγμένους καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας, οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην;

56 Ὃ δὲ πάντων σχετλιώτατον, εἰ φιλοπονώτατοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥᾳθυμότερον τῶν ἄλλων βουλευσόμεθα περὶ τούτων. τίνας γὰρ ἴσμεν, ὧν καὶ ποιήσασθαι μνείαν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, οἵτινες ἅπαξ ἡττηθέντες καὶ μιᾶς εἰσβολῆς γενομένης οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ὡμολόγησαν πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ποιήσειν; πῶς δ' ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πολὺν χρόνον

[a] In the memorable Sicilian expedition of 414 B.C. Gylippus defeated the Athenian general Nicias and took his entire forces captive.

[b] That is, since the battle of Leuctra. In addition to others mentioned above, Agesilaus, father of Archidamus, had won many victories in Asia Minor (396–394 B.C.).

bringing aid to the Syracusans, not only saved them from destruction, but also captured the entire armament of the enemy, which dominated them both by land and by sea.[a]

And yet is it not shameful that in those days single men among us were strong enough to protect the cities of others, but now all of us together are not able, nor do we attempt, to save our own city? Is it not shameful that, when we fought for others, we filled Europe and Asia with trophies, but now, when our own country is so openly outraged, we cannot show that we have fought in her behalf a single battle worthy of note?[b] Is it not shameful, finally, that other cities have endured the last extremities of siege to preserve our empire,[c] while we ourselves see no reason why we should bear even slight hardships to prevent our being forced to do anything contrary to our just rights, but are to be seen even at this moment feeding teams of ravenous horses,[d] although, like men reduced to the direst extremities and in want of their daily bread, we sue for peace in this fashion?

But it would be of all things the most outrageous if we who are accounted the most energetic of the Hellenes should be more slack than the rest in our deliberations upon this question. What people do we know, worth mentioning at all, who after a single defeat and a single invasion of their country have in so cowardly a fashion agreed to do everything demanded of them? How could such men hold out

[c] For example, Thespiae. See Xenophon, *Hell.* vi. 3. For other examples see Pausanias ix. 14, and Diodorus xv. 57 and 69.

[d] Horses were kept for racing, and were regarded as an expensive luxury.

57 *δυστυχοῦντες ἀνταρκέσειαν; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτιμήσειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ Μεσσηνίων ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς χώρας εἴκοσιν ἔτη πολιορκηθέντων ἡμεῖς οὕτω ταχέως κατὰ συνθήκας αὐτῆς ἀποσταίημεν, καὶ μηδὲ τῶν προγόνων μνησθείημεν, ἀλλ' ἣν ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ πολ-*
[128] *λῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ λόγων πεισθέντες ἀποβάλοιμεν;*

58 *Ὧν οὐδὲν ἔνιοι φροντίσαντες, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς αἰσχύνας ὑπεριδόντες, τοιαῦτα συμβουλεύουσιν ὑμῖν, ἐξ ὧν εἰς ὀνείδη τὴν πόλιν καταστήσουσιν. οὕτω δὲ προθύμως ἐπάγουσιν ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸ παραδοῦναι Μεσσήνην, ὥστε καὶ διεξελθεῖν ἐτόλμησαν τήν τε τῆς πόλεως ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, καὶ κελεύουσιν ἀποκρίνασθαι τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτοῖς, πόθεν βοήθειαν προσδοκῶντες ἥξειν διακελευόμεθα πολεμεῖν.*

59 *Ἐγὼ δὲ μεγίστην ἡγοῦμαι συμμαχίαν εἶναι καὶ βεβαιοτάτην τὸ τὰ δίκαια πράττειν (εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν γενέσθαι μετὰ τούτων, εἴπερ χρὴ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῖς ἤδη γεγενημένοις), πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ τὸ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ μέχρι θανάτου*[1] *μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθέλειν καὶ μηδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν νομίζειν ὡς τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν· ἃ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις*
60 *ὑπάρχει. μεθ' ὧν ἐγὼ πολὺ ἂν ἥδιον πολεμοίην ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν μυριάδων· οἶδα γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ἡμῶν εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀφικομένους οὐ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων περιγενομένους, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀρε-*

[1] *μέχρι θανάτου* vulg.: om. Γ.

[a] In the first Messenian war, 743–724 B.C. Pausanias iv. 13. 4.

against a long season of misfortune? Who would not censure us if, while the Messenians withstood siege for twenty years in order to retain Messene,[a] we should so quickly withdraw from it under a treaty and should take no thought of our forefathers, but should allow ourselves to be persuaded by words to throw away this territory which they acquired by dint of struggles and wars?

There are those, however, who care for none of these things, but, overlooking all considerations of shame, counsel you to follow a course which will bring disgrace upon the state. And so anxious are they to persuade you to give up Messene that they have dared to dwell on the weakness of Sparta and the strength of the enemy, and now they challenge us who oppose them to say from what quarter we expect reinforcements to come, seeing that we exhort you to make war.

For my part, I consider that the strongest and surest ally we can have is just dealing, for it is probable that the favour of the gods will be with those who deal justly—that is, if we may judge the future by the past; and in addition to this ally are good government and sober habits of life, and a willingness to battle to the death against the enemy, and the conviction that nothing is so much to be dreaded as the reproaches of our fellow-citizens—qualities which we possess in larger measure than any other people in existence. With these allies I would far rather go to war than with multitudes of soldiers, for I know that those of our people who first came to this country did not prevail over their adversaries through numbers, but through the virtues which I

ταῖς ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προειρημέναις. ὥστ' οὐκ ἄξιον
διὰ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτι πολλοὶ
τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἐκείνοις
θαρρεῖν, ὅταν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς οὕτως
ἐνηνοχότας τὰς συμφορὰς ὡς οὐδένες ἄλλοι
61 πώποτε, καὶ τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύ-
μασιν ἐμμένοντας οἷς ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστησάμεθα,
τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ τὰς εὐτυχίας φέρειν δυναμένους,
ἀλλὰ διατεταραγμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὰς συμ-
μαχίδας πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντας, τοὺς δὲ τἀναντία
τούτοις πράττοντας, ἄλλους δὲ περὶ χώρας τοῖς
ὁμόροις ἀμφισβητοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις
φθονοῦντας ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμοῦντας. ὥστε
θαυμάζω τῶν μείζω συμμαχίαν ζητούντων, ὧν
οἱ πολέμιοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐξαμαρτάνοντες.
62 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν βοηθειῶν εἰπεῖν,
[129] ἡγοῦμαι πολλοὺς ἔσεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους ἐπαμύ-
νειν ἡμῖν. ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀθηναίους,
εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα μεθ' ἡμῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρ γε
τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁτιοῦν ἂν ποιήσοντας·
ἔπειτα τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἔστιν ἃς ὁμοίως ἂν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῖν συμφερόντων ὥσπερ τῶν αὑταῖς
63 βουλευσομένας· ἔτι δὲ Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον καὶ

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[a] That is, those of the Theban league. Isocrates is here describing Thebes and especially her allies in the Peloponnesus.

[b] See note *a*, p. 352. Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 1. 32, says that the Thebans and Eleans were no less pleased at the defeat of their allies, the Arcadians, in the "tearless" battle of 367 B.C. than were the Lacedaemonians.

[c] For Athens see *Peace* 105 and *Philip* 44. Among the states in Peloponnesus, Phlius, Heraea, and Orchomenus in Arcadia were still true to Sparta. (Xenophon, *Hell.* vii.

have just set forth. Therefore we ought not to stand in fear of our enemies because they are many, but should much rather take courage when we see that we ourselves have borne up under our misfortunes as no other people have ever done, and that we still remain faithful to the customs and ways of life which we established here in the very beginning, while the rest of the Hellenes are not able to stand even their good fortune, but have become completely demoralized, some of them seizing the cities of their allies,[a] others opposing them in this; some disputing with their neighbours about territory, others, again, indulging their envy of one another[b] rather than making war against us. Therefore I wonder at those who look for a stronger ally than is found in the blundering of our enemies.

But if I must also speak of aid from the outside, I think that many will be disposed to assist us.[c] For I know, in the first place, that the Athenians, although they may not hold with us in everything, yet if our existence were at stake would go to any length to save us; in the second place, that some of the other states would consult our interest as if it were their very own; again, that the tyrant Dionysius, and the

2. 1, vi. 5. 22, and vi. 5. 11.) The reference is to Dionysius the younger, who began to reign 367–366 B.C. His father had given aid to Sparta on various occasions. See Underhill's note on Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1. 28 (Oxford edition). Nectanebos (378–364 B.C.) was king of Egypt at this time. Egypt generally supported those who fought against the Persians, and now the Theban enemies of Sparta were in league with Persia. As to the dynasts of Asia see *Paneg.* 162 and *Philip* 103. Probably such powerful rulers as Mausolus of Caria, who revolted from Persia in 362 B.C., are here meant, as well as the rulers of Cyprus. See *Philip* 102 and *Paneg.* 134.

τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς κατὰ
τὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάστας, καθ᾿ ὅσον ἕκαστοι δύνανται,
προθύμως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπικουρήσοντας· πρὸς δὲ τού-
τοις καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις προ-
έχοντας καὶ ταῖς δόξαις πρωτεύοντας καὶ βελτί-
στων πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας, εἰ καὶ μήπω
συνεστήκασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γ᾿ εὐνοίαις μεθ᾿ ἡμῶν
ὄντας, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰκότως ἂν
μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἔχοιμεν.
64 Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον τὸν ἐν Πελο-
ποννήσῳ καὶ τὸν δῆμον, ὃν οἰόμεθα μάλιστα πολε-
μεῖν ἡμῖν, ποθεῖν ἤδη τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν.
οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀποστᾶσι γέγονεν ὧν προσ-
εδόκησαν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοὐναντίον
ἀποβέβηκεν (ἀπολέσαντες γὰρ αὑτῶν τοὺς βελτί-
στους ἐπὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν γεγόνασιν),
ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτονομίας εἰς πολλὰς καὶ δεινὰς
65 ἀνομίας ἐμπεπτώκασιν, εἰθισμένοι δὲ τὸν ἄλλον
χρόνον μεθ᾿ ἡμῶν ἐφ᾿ ἑτέρους ἰέναι, νῦν τοὺς
ἄλλους ὁρῶσιν ἐφ᾿ αὑτοὺς στρατευομένους, καὶ
τὰς στάσεις, ἃς ἐπυνθάνοντο πρότερον παρ᾿
ἑτέροις οὔσας, νῦν παρ᾿ αὑτοῖς ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ᾿
ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν γιγνομένας, οὕτω δ᾿ ὡμαλι-
σμένοι ταῖς συμφοραῖς εἰσιν, ὥστε μηδένα δια-
γνῶναι δύνασθαι τοὺς κάκιστα πράττοντας αὐτῶν·
66 οὐδεμία γάρ ἐστι τῶν πόλεων ἀκέραιος, οὐδ᾿ ἥ
τις οὐχ ὁμόρους ἔχει τοὺς κακῶς ποιήσοντας,
ὥστε τετμῆσθαι μὲν τὰς χώρας, πεπορθῆσθαι δὲ

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[a] Those who sympathize with an oligarchy such as the Spartan government. *οἱ βέλτιστοι* is almost technical for "the aristocratic party," as *τὰ βέλτιστα* for an aristocratic

king of Egypt, and the various dynasts throughout Asia, each so far as he has the power, would willingly lend us aid; and, furthermore, that the Hellenes who rank first in wealth and stand foremost in reputation and who desire the best of governments,[a] even though they have not yet allied themselves with us, are with us at least to the extent of wishing us well, and that upon them we have good reason to rest great hopes for the future.

Also I think that not only the people of the Peloponnesus in general but even the adherents of democracy,[b] whom we consider to be especially unfriendly to us, are already yearning for our protection. For by revolting from us they have gained nothing of what they anticipated; on the contrary, they have got just the opposite of freedom; for having slain the best of their citizens, they are now in the power of the worst; instead of securing self-government, they have been plunged into misgovernment of many terrible kinds; accustomed as they have been in the past to march with us against others, they now behold the rest taking the field against themselves; and the war of factions, of whose existence in other territories they used to know only by report, they now see waged almost every day in their own states. They have been so levelled by their misfortunes that no man can discern who among them are the most wretched; for not one of their states is unscathed, not one but has neighbours ready to do it injury; in consequence, their fields have been

government. *Cf.* Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 2. 6. Such people might be expected to form a conspiracy to set up an oligarchy favourable to Sparta.

[b] Those in Peloponnesus who are not definitely committed to an oligarchic government.

τὰς πόλεις, ἀναστάτους δὲ γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς
οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους, ἀνεστράφθαι δὲ τὰς πολιτείας
καὶ καταλελύσθαι τοὺς νόμους, μεθ' ὧν οἰκοῦντες
67 εὐδαιμονέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦσαν. οὕτω δ'
ἀπίστως τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχου-
σιν, ὥστε μᾶλλον τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους
δεδίασιν· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁμονοίας καὶ τῆς
[130] παρ' ἀλλήλων εὐπορίας εἰς τοσαύτην ἀμιξίαν
ἐληλύθασιν, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν κεκτημένοι τὰς οὐσίας
ἥδιον ἂν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν
ἐκβάλοιεν ἢ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκέσειαν, οἱ δὲ
καταδεέστερον πράττοντες οὐδ' ἂν εὑρεῖν δέξαιν-
68 το μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν ἐχόντων ἀφελέσθαι· κατα-
λύσαντες δὲ τὰς θυσίας ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν σφάττουσιν
ἀλλήλους· πλείους δὲ φεύγουσι νῦν ἐκ μιᾶς πόλεως
ἢ πρότερον ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς Πελοποννήσου. καὶ
τοσούτων ἀπηριθμημένων κακῶν, πολὺ πλείω τὰ
παραλελειμμένα τῶν εἰρημένων ἐστίν· οὐδὲν γὰρ
ὅ τι τῶν δεινῶν ἢ χαλεπῶν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα συνδεδρά-
69 μηκεν. ὧν οἱ μὲν ἤδη μεστοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες,
οἱ δὲ διὰ ταχέων ἐμπλησθήσονται, καὶ ζητήσουσί
τινα τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων εὑρεῖν ἀπαλλαγήν.
μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτοὺς μενεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις· οἵτινες
γὰρ εὖ πράττοντες ἀπεῖπον, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι κακο-
παθοῦντες πολὺν χρόνον καρτερήσειαν; ὥστ' οὐ
μόνον ἢν μαχόμενοι νικήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἡσυχίαν
ἔχοντες περιμείνωμεν, ὄψεσθ' αὐτοὺς μεταβαλλο-

[a] The Achaeans (Polybius ii. 38. 6) and the Mantineans (Aelian, *V.H.* ii. 22) were famed for their excellent laws.

[b] Possibly Isocrates may have in mind the massacre at Corinth in 392 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 4. 3), the murder

laid waste, their cities sacked, their people driven from their homes, their constitutions overturned, and the laws abolished under which they were once the most fortunate among the Hellenes.[a] They feel such distrust and such hatred of one another that they fear their fellow-citizens more than the enemy ; instead of preserving the spirit of accord and mutual helpfulness which they enjoyed under our rule, they have become so unsocial that those who own property had rather throw their possessions into the sea than lend aid to the needy, while those who are in poorer circumstances would less gladly find a treasure than seize the possessions of the rich ; having ceased sacrificing victims at the altars they slaughter one another[b] there instead ; and more people are in exile now from a single city than before from the whole of the Peloponnesus. But although the miseries which I have recounted are so many, those which remain unmentioned far outnumber them ; for all the distress and all the horror in the world have come together in this one region. With these miseries some states are already replete ; others too will shortly have their fill, and then they will seek to find some relief for the troubles which now beset them. For do not imagine that they will continue to put up with these conditions ; for how could men who grew weary even of prosperity endure for a long time the pressure of adversity ? And so not only if we fight and conquer, but even if we keep quiet and bide our time, you will see them veer

of certain Achaean suppliants, who took refuge in the temple of Heliconian Poseidon (Pausanias vii. 25), or the slaughter of 1200 prominent citizens in Argos in 371 B.C. (Diodorus xv. 58). *Cf. Phil.* 52.

μένους καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμαχίαν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζοντας. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἐλπίδας ἔχω τοιαύτας.

70 *Τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπέχω τοῦ ποιῆσαί τι τῶν προσταττομένων, ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲν γίγνοιτο τούτων μηδὲ βοηθείας μηδαμόθεν τυγχάνοιμεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῖεν ἡμᾶς οἱ δὲ περιορῷεν, οὐδ' ἂν οὕτω μεταγνοίην, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἂν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνους ὑπομείναιμι πρὶν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας ταύτας. αἰσχυνθείην γὰρ ἂν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων, εἴτε καταγνοίημεν τῶν προγόνων ὡς ἀδίκως Μεσσηνίους ἀφείλοντο τὴν χώραν, εἴτ' ἐκείνων ὀρθῶς κτησαμένων καὶ προσηκόντως ἡμεῖς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον συγχωρήσαιμέν τι*
71 *περὶ αὐτῆς. τούτων μὲν οὖν οὐδέτερον ποιητέον, σκεπτέον δ' ὅπως ἀξίως ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πολεμήσομεν, καὶ μὴ τοὺς εἰθισμένους ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν πόλιν ἐλέγξομεν ψευδεῖς ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τοιούτους ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχήσομεν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ἐκείνους ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἰρηκέναι περὶ ἡμῶν.*

72 *Οἶμαι μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν συμβήσεσθαι δεινότερον*
[131] *τῶν νῦν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοιαῦτα βουλεύσεσθαι καὶ πράξειν, ἐξ ὧν ἐπανορθώσουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἂν δ' ἄρα ψευσθῶμεν τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐξειργώμεθα καὶ μηδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔτι δυνώμεθα διαφυλάττειν, χαλεπὰ μέν ἐστιν ἃ μέλλω λέγειν, ὅμως δ' οὐκ ὀκνήσω παρρησιάσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐξαγγελθῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι καλλίω ταῦτ' ἐστί, καὶ μᾶλλον ἁρμόττοντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις φρονήμασιν, ὧν ἔνιοί τινες ἡμῖν συμβουλεύουσιν.*

round and come to regard alliance with us as their only safety. Such, then, are the hopes which I entertain.

However, so far am I from complying with the enemy's demands that, if none of these hopes should be realized and we should fail to obtain help from any quarter, but on the contrary some of the Hellenes should wrong us and the rest should look on with indifference—even so I should not alter my opinion; but I would undergo all the hazards which spring from war before I would agree to these terms. For I should be equally chagrined in either case—if we charged our forefathers with having deprived the Messenians of their land unjustly, or if, although insisting that they acquired it rightly and honourably, we made any concession regarding this territory contrary to our just rights. Nay, we must follow neither course, but must consider how we may carry on the war in a manner worthy of Spartans, and not prove those who are wont to eulogize our state to be liars, but so acquit ourselves that they shall seem to have told less than the truth about us.

Now I certainly believe that nothing worse will befall us in the future than what we endure at present, but that, on the contrary, our enemies will plan and act in such a way that they themselves will right our fortunes; but if we should after all be disappointed in our hopes, and should find ourselves hemmed in on every side and be no longer able to hold our city, then, hard as may be the step which I am about to propose, yet I shall not hesitate to proclaim it boldly; for that which I shall propose to you is a nobler course to be heralded abroad among the Hellenes, and more in keeping with our own pride, than that which is urged by some among you.

73 Φημὶ γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς μὲν γονέας τοὺς ἡμετέ-
ρους αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
καὶ τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἄλλον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι,
τοὺς μὲν εἰς Σικελίαν,[1] τοὺς δ' εἰς Κυρήνην, τοὺς
δ' εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον (ἄσμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες
οὗτοι δέξονται καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
ταῖς περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορίαις, οἱ μὲν χάριν ἀπο-
διδόντες ὧν εὖ πεπόνθασιν, οἱ δὲ κομιεῖσθαι προσ-
74 δοκῶντες ὧν ἂν προϋπάρξωσιν), ὑπολειφθέντας δὲ
τοὺς βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους κινδυνεύειν τῆς
μὲν πόλεως ἀφεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων,
πλὴν ὅσα ἂν οἷοί τ' ὦμεν ἀπενέγκασθαι μεθ'
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καταλαβόντας δὲ χωρίον, ὅ τι ἂν
ἐχυρώτατον ᾖ καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συμφορώ-
τατον, ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατὰ
γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἕως ἂν παύσωνται τῶν
75 ἡμετέρων ἀμφισβητοῦντες. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐὰν τολμή-
σωμεν καὶ μὴ κατοκνήσωμεν, ὄψεσθε τοὺς νῦν ἐπι-
τάττοντας ἱκετεύοντας καὶ δεομένους ἡμῶν Μεσσή-
νην ἀπολαβεῖν καὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.

Ποία γὰρ ἂν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
τοιοῦτον πόλεμον ὑπομείνειεν, οἷον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι
βουληθέντων ἡμῶν; τίνες δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλαγεῖεν
καὶ δείσαιεν στρατόπεδον συνιστάμενον τοιαῦτα
μὲν διαπεπραγμένον, δικαίως δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις τού-
των ὠργισμένον, ἀπονενοημένως δὲ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν
76 διακείμενον, καὶ τῷ μὲν σχολὴν ἄγειν καὶ μηδὲ

[1] εἰς Σικελίαν MSS.: εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν Wolf from Dionysius, *Isocr.* 9.

For I declare that we must send our parents and our wives and children and the mass of the people away from Sparta, some to Sicily, some to Cyrene, others to the mainland of Asia,[a] where the inhabitants will all gladly welcome them with gifts of ample lands and of the other means of livelihood as well, partly in gratitude .for favours which they have received and partly in expectation of the return of favours which they first bestow. Those of us, on the other hand, who are willing and able to fight must remain behind, abandon the city and all our possessions except what we can carry with us, and having seized some stronghold which will be the most secure and the most advantageous for carrying on the war, harry and plunder our enemies both by land and by sea until they cease from laying claim to what is ours. If we have the courage for such a course and never falter in it, you will see those who now issue commands imploring and beseeching us to take back Messene and make peace.

For what state in the Peloponnesus could withstand a war such as would in all likelihood be waged if we so willed? What people would not be stricken with dismay and terror at the assembling of an army which had carried out such measures, which had been roused to just wrath against those who had driven it to these extremes, and which had been rendered desperate and reckless of life—an army which, in its freedom from ordinary cares and in

[a] Greek emigration from the home country was commonly towards the far west (Sicily), the east (coast of Asia Minor), or the south (Cyrene). Moreover, Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse and the "dynasts" in Asia were friendly to the Spartans (see § 63), and Cyrene was a Spartan settlement (see *Phil.* 5).

περὶ ἓν ἄλλο διατρίβειν ἢ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς
ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὡμοιωμένον, ταῖς δ' ἀρεταῖς
καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τοιοῦτον οἷον ἐξ ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἂν συντάξειεν, ἔτι δὲ μηδεμιᾷ
[132] πολιτείᾳ τεταγμένῃ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ θυραυλεῖν καὶ
πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν δυνάμενον καὶ ῥᾳδίως
μὲν ὅμορον οἷς ἂν βούληται γιγνόμενον, τοὺς δὲ
τόπους ἅπαντας τοὺς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συμ-
77 φέροντας πατρίδας εἶναι νομίζον; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
οἶμαι τῶν λόγων μόνον ῥηθέντων τούτων καὶ
διασπαρέντων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς πολλὴν
ταραχὴν καταστήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν, ἔτι
δὲ μᾶλλον, ἢν καὶ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τούτοις ἀναγ-
κασθῶμεν. τίνα γὰρ οἰηθῶμεν αὐτοὺς γνώμην
ἕξειν, ὅταν αὐτοὶ μὲν κακῶς πάσχωσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ
78 μηδὲν δύνωνται ποιεῖν; καὶ τὰς μὲν αὑτῶν πόλεις
ἴδωσιν εἰς πολιορκίαν καθεστηκυίας, τὴν δ'
ἡμετέραν οὕτω διεσκευασμένην ὥστε μηκέτι τῇ
συμφορᾷ ταύτῃ περιπεσεῖν; ἔτι δὲ τὴν τῶν
σωμάτων τροφὴν ἡμῖν μὲν ῥᾳδίαν οὖσαν ἔκ τε
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γιγνο-
μένων, αὑτοῖς δὲ χαλεπὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ ταὐτὸν εἶναι
στρατόπεδόν τε τοιοῦτον διοικεῖν καὶ τοὺς ὄχλους
79 τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι διατρέφειν; ὃ δὲ πάντων
ἄλγιστον ἐκείνοις, ὅταν τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους
οἰκείους ἐν πολλαῖς εὐπορίαις πυνθάνωνται γεγενη-
μένους, τοὺς δ' αὑτῶν ὁρῶσιν καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν
ἡμέραν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας, καὶ μηδ'
ἐπικουρῆσαι δύνωνται τοῖς κακοῖς τούτοις, ἀλλ'
ἐργαζόμενοι μὲν τὴν χώραν τὰ σπέρματα προσ-
απολλύωσιν, ἀργὸν δὲ περιορῶντες μηδένα χρόνον
ἀνταρκεῖν οἷοί τ' ὦσιν.

having no other duty but that of war, would resemble a mercenary force, but in point of native valour and of disciplined habits would be like no army that could be levied in all the world—an army, moreover, which would have no fixed government, but would be able to bivouac in the open fields and to range the country at will, readily making itself neighbour to any people at its pleasure, and regarding every place which offered advantages for waging war as its fatherland? For my part, I believe that if this proposal were merely put in words and scattered broadcast among the Hellenes, our enemies would be thrown into utter confusion; and still more would this be so if we were put to the necessity of carrying it into effect. For what must we suppose their feelings will be when they themselves suffer injury, but are powerless to inflict injury upon us; when they see their own cities reduced to a state of siege, while we shall have taken such measures that our own city cannot henceforth experience a like calamity; and when, furthermore, they perceive that it is easy for us to procure food both from our existing stores and from the spoils of war, but difficult for them, inasmuch as it is one thing to provide for an army such as ours and another to feed the crowds in cities? But bitterest of all will it be for them when they learn that the members of our households have all along been living in comfort and plenty, whereas they will see their own people destitute every day of the necessities of life, and will not be able even to alleviate their distress, but if they till the soil, they will lose both crop and seed, and if they allow it to lie unworked, they will be unable to hold out any time at all.

80 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως ἀθροισθέντες καὶ κοινὸν ποιησάμενοι στρατόπεδον παρακολουθήσουσι, καὶ κωλύσουσιν ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτούς. καὶ τί ἂν εὐξαίμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ λαβεῖν πλησιάζοντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς δυσχωρίας ἡμῖν ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντας ἀνθρώπους ἀτάκτους καὶ μιγάδας καὶ πολλοῖς ἄρχουσι χρωμένους; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν πολλῆς πραγματείας δεήσειεν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐξαναγκάσαιμεν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις καιροῖς ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι τοὺς κινδύνους.

81 Ἐπιλίποι δ' ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ τὰς πλεονεξίας τὰς ἐσομένας λέγειν ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν. ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν πᾶσι φανερόν, ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων διενηνόχαμεν οὐ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πόλεως [133] οὐδὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν ὁμοίαν κατεστησάμεθα στρατοπέδῳ καλῶς διοικουμένῳ καὶ πειθαρχεῖν ἐθέλοντι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. ἢν οὖν εἰλικρινὲς τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν, ὃ μιμησαμένοις ἡμῖν συνήνεγκεν, οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι ῥᾳδίως τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατήσομεν.

82 Ἴσμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ταυτησὶ τῆς πόλεως γενομένους, ὅτι μικρὸν μὲν στρατόπεδον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἰσῆλθον ἔχοντες, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων πόλεων ἐκράτησαν. καλὸν οὖν μιμήσασθαι τοὺς προγόνους, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν

But perhaps, you will object, they will join forces and with their united armies will follow us up and prevent us from doing them harm. Yet what better thing could we wish than to find close at hand, drawn up in line of battle and encamped against us face to face on the same difficult ground, an undisciplined and motley rabble, serving under many leaders? For there would be need of no great effort on our part; no, we should quickly force them to give battle, choosing the moment propitious for ourselves and not for them.

But the remainder of the day would fail me if I undertook to set forth the advantages we should gain by such a course. This much, at any rate, is clear to all—that we have been superior to all the Hellenes, not because of the size of our city or the number of its inhabitants,[a] but because the government which we have established is like a military camp, well administered and rendering willing obedience to its officers.[b] If, then, we shall create in reality that which it has profited us to imitate, there can be no doubt that we shall easily overcome our foes.

We know, moreover, that those who became the founders of this city entered the Peloponnesus with but a small army and yet made themselves masters of many powerful states.[c] It were fitting, then, to imitate our forefathers and, by retracing our steps,

[a] Sparta was about six miles in circumference. The number of pure Spartan inhabitants never exceeded 10,000.

[b] The whole life of a Spartan youth was supervised by military officers of one sort or another. Those over twenty years of age ate at a common table, or military mess. War was the first and only duty of a Spartan citizen, and obedience more important even than life.

[c] For example, of Corinth, Sicyon, and Megara.

ἐπανελθόντας, ἐπειδὴ προσεπταίκαμεν, πειραθῆναι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς δυναστείας ἀναλαβεῖν, ἃς πρό-
83 τερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες. πάντων δ' ἂν δεινότατον ποιήσαιμεν, εἰ συνειδότες Ἀθηναίοις ἐκλιποῦσι τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἡμεῖς μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἀφέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τολμήσαιμεν, ἀλλὰ δέον ἡμᾶς παράδειγμα τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχειν, μηδὲ μιμήσασθαι τὰς ἐκείνων
84 πράξεις ἐθελήσαιμεν. ἔτι δὲ τούτου καταγελαστότερον, εἰ Φωκαεῖς μὲν φεύγοντες τὴν βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου δεσποτείαν, ἐκλιπόντες τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰς Μασσαλίαν ἀπῴκησαν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον μικροψυχίας ἔλθοιμεν ὥστε τὰ προστάγματα τούτων ὑπομεῖναι, ὧν ἄρχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετελέσαμεν.

85 Χρὴ δὲ μὴ περὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ταῖς ψυχαῖς διατρίβειν, ἐν ᾗ δεήσει χωρίζειν τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀφορᾶν, ἐν οἷς περιγενόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνορθώσομεν μὲν τὴν πόλιν, κομιούμεθα δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν, ἐπιδειξόμεθα δὲ πᾶσιν ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀδίκως δεδυστυχήκαμεν, τὸν δὲ παρελθόντα χρόνον
86 δικαίως τῶν ἄλλων πλέον ἔχειν ἠξιοῦμεν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως· ἐγὼ τούτους εἴρηκα τοὺς λόγους, οὐχ ὡς δέον ἡμᾶς ἤδη ταῦτα πράττειν, οὐδ' ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης ἐνούσης ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ὑμῶν προτρέψασθαι τὰς

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[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 96.

[b] The first party of Phocaeans left Asia about 524 B.C. Besieged by Harpalus, they swore that never would they

now that we have stumbled in our course, try to win back the honours and the dominions which were formerly ours. But, monstrous above all things would be our conduct if, knowing well that the Athenians abandoned their country to preserve the freedom of the Hellenes,[a] we should lack the courage to give up our city even to preserve our own lives, and should refuse, when it behoves us to set the example for others in such deeds, even to imitate the conduct of the Athenians. Even more should we deserve the ridicule of men if, having before us the example of the Phocaeans who, to escape the tyranny of the Great King, left Asia and founded a new settlement at Massilia,[b] we should sink into such abjectness of spirit as to submit to the dictates of those whose masters we have always been throughout our history.

But we must not let our minds dwell on the day when we shall have to send away from us those who are nearest and dearest to us ; no, we must at once begin to look forward to that good time when, victorious over our foes, we shall restore our city, bring back our own people, and prove to the world that while we now have experienced reverses unjustly, in times past we justly claimed precedence over all others. This, then, is how matters stand : I have made this proposal, not with the thought that we must put it into effect forthwith, nor that there is in our circumstances no other means of deliverance, but because I wish to urge your minds

return to their city until the iron which they had cast into the sea should rise and float on the water. See Horace, *Epode* xvi., and Herodotus i. 165. A second group came to Marseilles later. See Pausanias x. 8. 4.

*γνώμας, ὡς καὶ ταύτας τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ πολὺ
[134] δεινοτέρας τούτων ὑπομενετέον ἡμῖν, πρὶν ὑπὲρ
Μεσσήνης ποιήσασθαι συνθήκας οἵας κελεύουσιν
ἡμᾶς.*

87 *Οὐχ οὕτω δ' ἂν προθύμως ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ὑμᾶς παρεκάλουν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰρήνην ἑώρων ἐξ
ὧν μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω καλὴν καὶ βεβαίαν γενησομένην,
ἐξ ὧν δ' ἔνιοί τινες συμβουλεύουσιν, οὐ μόνον
αἰσχρὰν ἐσομένην, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρόνον οὐδένα παρα-
μενοῦσαν. ἢν γὰρ παρακατοικισώμεθα τοὺς Εἵλω-
τας καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην περιίδωμεν αὐξηθεῖσαν,
τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι πάντα τὸν βίον ἐν ταραχαῖς καὶ
κινδύνοις διατελοῦμεν ὄντες; ὥσθ' οἱ περὶ ἀ-
σφαλείας διαλεγόμενοι λελήθασιν αὑτοὺς τὴν μὲν
εἰρήνην ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἡμῖν ποιοῦντες, τὸν δὲ
πόλεμον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον κατασκευάζοντες.*

88 *Ἡδέως δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πυθοίμην, ὑπὲρ τίνων οἴον-
ται χρῆναι μαχομένους ἡμᾶς ἀποθνήσκειν· οὐχ
ὅταν οἱ πολέμιοι προστάττωσί τι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον
καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀποτέμνωνται καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
ἐλευθερῶσι; καὶ τούτους μὲν κατοικίζωσιν εἰς
ταύτην ἣν ἡμῖν οἱ πατέρες κατέλιπον, ἡμᾶς δὲ
μὴ μόνον τῶν ὄντων ἀποστερῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
89 τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς εἰς ὀνείδη καθιστῶσιν; ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐ μόνον πόλεμον ἀλλὰ καὶ
φυγὰς καὶ θανάτους οἴομαι προσήκειν ἡμῖν ὑπο-
μένειν· πολὺ γὰρ κρεῖττον ἐν ταῖς δόξαις αἷς
ἔχομεν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἐν ταῖς
ἀτιμίαις, ἃς ληψόμεθα ποιήσαντες ἃ προστάτ-
τουσιν ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ[1] δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον
εἰπεῖν, αἱρετώτερον ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἀναστάτοις γενέσθαι*

[1] εἰ δὲ vulg.: ὅμως δ' εἰ Γ.

to the conviction that we must endure, not only these, but even much worse misfortunes before conceding such terms regarding Messene as are being urged upon us.

I should not so earnestly exhort you to carry on the war if I did not see that the peace resulting from my proposals will be honourable and enduring, while that which would result from the counsel of certain men among you will not only be disgraceful, but will last no time at all. For if we permit the Helots to settle on our borders and allow Messene to flourish undisturbed, who does not know that we shall be involved in constant turmoils and dangers all our lives? Therefore, those who talk about "security" are blind to the fact that they are providing us with peace for a few days only, while contriving a state of war which will never end.

I should like to ask these men in what cause they think we ought to fight and die. Is it not cause enough when the enemy make demands that are contrary to justice, when they cut off a portion of our territory, when they free our slaves and settle them in the land which our fathers bequeathed to us, yes, and not only rob us of our possessions but in addition to all our other miseries involve us in disgrace? For my part, I think that in such a cause as this we ought to endure, not only war, but even exile and death; for it is far better to end our lives in the possession of the high reputation which we now enjoy than to go on living with the infamy which we shall bring upon ourselves if we do what we are commanded to do. In a word, if I may speak without reserve, it is preferable for us

μᾶλλον ἢ καταγελάστοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώμασι καὶ φρονήμασι τηλικούτοις βεβιωκότας δυοῖν δεῖ θάτερον, ἢ πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἢ παντάπασιν ἀνῃρῆσθαι, μηδὲν ταπεινὸν διαπραξαμένους ἀλλὰ καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ποιησαμένους.

90 Ἃ χρὴ διαλογισαμένους μὴ φιλοψυχεῖν, μηδ' ἐπακολουθεῖν ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων γνώμαις, ὧν ἡγεῖσθαι πρότερον ἠξιοῦμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς σκεψαμένους ἑλέσθαι μὴ τὸ τούτοις ῥᾷστον, ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπον ἔσται τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡμῖν. περὶ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπασι βουλευτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἕκαστοι

91 τοῦ βίου ποιήσωνται τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. Ἐπιδαυρίοις

[135] μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Φλιασίοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιπλήξειεν, εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζοιεν ἢ τοῦ διαγενέσθαι καὶ περιποιῆσαι σφᾶς αὐτούς· Λακεδαιμονίους δ' οὐχ οἷόντ' ἐστὶν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἂν μὴ προσῇ τὸ καλῶς τῷ σώζεσθαι, τὸν θάνατον ἡμῖν μετ' εὐδοξίας αἱρετέον ἐστί. τοῖς γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς οὕτω σπουδαστέον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τοῦ

92 μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν φανῆναι πράττοντας. εἰσὶ δ' αἱ τῶν πόλεων κακίαι καταφανεῖς οὐχ ἧττον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βουλεύμασιν ἢ τοῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνοις. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖ γιγνομένων τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῇ τύχῃ μέτεστι, τὸ δ' ἐνθάδε γνωσθὲν αὐτῆς τῆς διανοίας σημεῖόν ἐστιν. ὥσθ' ὁμοίως ἡμῖν φιλονικητέον ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνθάδε ψηφισθησομένων, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγώνων.

to suffer annihilation, rather than derision, at the hands of our foes. For men who have lived in such high repute and in such pride of spirit must do one of two things—either be first among the Hellenes, or perish utterly, having done no ignominious deed but having brought their lives to an honourable close.

Reflecting upon these things, we must not be faint of heart, nor follow the judgements of our allies, whom in former times we claimed the right to lead, but, having duly weighed the matter for ourselves, we should choose, not what is easiest for them, but what will be in keeping with Lacedaemon and with our achievements in the past. For not every people can adopt the same measures in the same situation, but each must follow the principles which from the very first they have made the foundation of their lives. No one, for example, would reproach Epidaurians or Corinthians or Phliasians if they thought of nothing else than to escape destruction and save their own lives; we men of Lacedaemon, however, cannot seek our deliverance at all costs, but if to "safety" we cannot add "with honour," then for us death with good repute is preferable; for those who lay claim to valour must make it the supreme object of their lives never to be found doing a shameful thing. But the cowardice of states is made manifest in deliberations like these no less than in the perils of war; for the greatest part of what takes place on the battle-field is due to fortune, but what is resolved upon here is a token of our very spirit. Wherefore we should strive for success in the measures to be adopted here with an emulation no less keen than we show in the lists of war.

93 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἰδίας δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελόντων, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κοινῆς μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐχόντων· ὑπὲρ ἧς ὁτιοῦν πάσχειν ἄξιον, ὥστε μὴ καταισχῦναι τὴν πόλιν, μηδὲ περιιδεῖν τὴν τάξιν λιποῦσαν, εἰς ἣν οἱ πατέρες κατέστησαν αὐτήν. πολλῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ἡμῖν καὶ δεινῶν ἐφεστώτων, ἃ δεῖ δια-
94 φυγεῖν, ἐκεῖνο μάλιστα φυλακτέον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀνάνδρως φανησόμεθα διαπραττόμενοι μηδὲ συγχωροῦντες τοῖς πολεμίοις παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοὺς ἄρξαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιωθέντας ὀφθῆναι τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν προγόνων, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττειν ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν, ἡμᾶς δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον μὴ τολμᾶν διακινδυνεύειν.

95 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰσχυνθῆναι πανηγύρεις, ἐν αἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ζηλωτότερος ἦν καὶ θαυμαστότερος τῶν ἀθλητῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τὰς νίκας ἀναιρουμένων. εἰς ἃς τίς ἂν ἐλθεῖν τολμήσειεν, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι καταφρονηθησόμενος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ περίστατος ὑπὸ πάντων δι' ἀρετὴν εἶναι περίβλεπτος
96 ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ γενησόμενος, ἔτι δὲ
[136] πρὸς τούτοις ὀψόμενος μὲν τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἧς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν κατέλιπον ἀπαρχὰς καὶ θυσίας μείζους ἡμῶν ποιουμένους, ἀκουσόμενος δ' αὐτῶν τοιαύταις βλασφημίαις χρωμένων, οἵαις

[a] Spartan supremacy lasted, theoretically, more than thirty years, from the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.) to the battle of Leuctra. Meantime, however, the Athenians secured for a short period their second naval empire (378 B.C.).

I marvel at those who are willing to die for their personal glory, but have not the same feeling for the glory of the state, for which we may well suffer anything whatsoever to avoid bringing shame upon our city, nor should we permit it to abandon the post in which it was established by our forefathers. It is true that many difficulties and dangers beset us; these we must avoid, but first and foremost we should be careful that we are never found doing any cowardly deed or making any unjust concessions to the foe; for it would be shameful if we, who once[a] were thought worthy to rule the Hellenes, should be seen carrying out their commands, and should fall so far below our forefathers that, while they were willing to die in order that they might dictate to others,[b] we would not dare to hazard a battle in order that we might prevent others from dictating to us.

We may well be ashamed when we think of the Olympian and the other national assemblies, where every one of us used to be more envied and more admired than the athletes who carry off victories in the games. But who would dare attend them now, when instead of being honoured he would be scorned, when instead of being sought out by all because of his valour, he would be conspicuous among all for his cowardice, and when, more than all this, he would see our slaves bringing from the land which our fathers bequeathed to us first-fruits of the harvest and sacrifices greater than our own, and would hear from their lips such taunts as you would expect from

[b] Thucydides, i. 140, puts in the mouth of Pericles the assertion that the Spartans prefer to resolve their complaints by war and not by words, dictating terms instead of bringing charges.

περ εἰκὸς τοὺς χαλεπώτερον μὲν τῶν ἄλλων δεδουλευκότας, ἐξ ἴσου δὲ νῦν τὰς συνθήκας τοῖς δεσπόταις πεποιημένους· ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν οὕτως ἂν ἀλγήσειεν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν ζώντων διὰ λόγου δηλώσειεν.

97 Ὑπὲρ ὧν χρὴ βουλεύεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τότ᾽ ἀγανακτεῖν ὅτ᾽ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἔσται πλέον, ἀλλὰ νῦν σκοπεῖν ὅπως μηδὲν συμβήσεται τοιοῦτον. ὡς ἔστιν ἓν τῶν αἰσχρῶν πρότερον μὲν μηδὲ τὰς τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἰσηγορίας ἀνέχεσθαι, νῦν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν
98 δούλων παρρησίαν ὑπομένοντας φαίνεσθαι. δόξομεν γὰρ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἀλαζονεύεσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν φύσιν ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι, ταῖς δ᾽ αὐθαδείαις καὶ ταῖς σεμνότησιν οὐκ ἀληθιναῖς ἀλλὰ πεπλασμέναις κεχρῆσθαι. μηδὲν οὖν ἐνδῶμεν τοιοῦτον τοῖς εἰθισμένοις ἡμᾶς κακολογεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἐξελέγξαι πειραθῶμεν, ὅμοιοι γενόμενοι τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις.

99 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ τῶν ἐν Διπαίᾳ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας ἀγωνισαμένων, οὕς φασιν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἀσπίδος παραταξαμένους τρόπαιον στῆσαι πολλῶν μυριάδων, καὶ τῶν τριακοσίων τῶν ἐν Θυρέαις ἅπαντας Ἀργείους μάχῃ νικησάντων, καὶ τῶν χιλίων τῶν
100 εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπαντησάντων, οἳ πρὸς ἑβδομή-

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[a] Others translate *ἰσηγορίας* as *political equality* and understand *τῶν ἐλευθέρων* to refer to the allies of Sparta. But the passage is probably better taken as referring to the military harshness of the Spartans toward any and all with whom they came in contact, as, for instance, when Astyochus started to beat a free man for speaking too freely (see Thucyd. viii. 84).

[b] In 471 B.C. See Herodotus ix. 35, and Pausanias viii. 8. 4.

men who once were subjected to the strictest bondage but now have made a treaty with their masters on terms of equality? How keenly every one of us would smart under these insults no man alive could set forth in words.

These are the things about which we must take counsel, and we must not wait to indulge our resentment until that will no longer avail us, but must consider now how we may prevent such a disaster. For it is disgraceful that we, who in former times would not allow even free men the right of equal speech, are now openly tolerating licence of speech on the part of slaves.[a] For thus we shall give ground for the suspicion that in time past we have been nothing at all but idle boasters, that by nature we are no different from the rest of mankind, and that the sternness and dignity of manner which we cultivate is not natural, but a mere pose. Let us, therefore, give no such occasion to those who are wont to speak ill of us, but let us endeavour to confute their words by patterning our actions after those of our forefathers.

Remember the men who at Dipaea[b] fought against the Arcadians, of whom we are told that, albeit they stood arrayed with but a single line of soldiery, they raised a trophy over thousands upon thousands; remember the three hundred who at Thyrea[c] defeated the whole Argive force in battle; remember the thousand who went to meet the foe at Thermopylae, who, although they engaged seven hundred thousand of

[c] In 542 B.C. See Herodotus i. 82, and Pausanias ii. 38. 5. Isocrates confuses two contests, one earlier, where three hundred Argives fought against three hundred Spartans, one later, where both sides matched their full forces.

κοντα μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων συμβαλόντες οὐκ ἔφυγον οὐδ' ἡττήθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν οὗ περ ἐτάχθησαν, τοιούτους αὑτοὺς παρασχόντες ὥστε τοὺς μετὰ τέχνης ἐγκωμιάζοντας μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐξισῶσαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀρεταῖς.

101 Ἁπάντων οὖν τούτων ἀναμνησθέντες ἐρρωμενέστερον ἀντιλαβώμεθα τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ μὴ περιμένωμεν ὡς ἄλλων τινῶν τὰς παρούσας ἀτυχίας ἰασομένων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδή περ ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγό-
[137] νασιν, ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς καὶ διαλῦσαι πειραθῶμεν. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
102 καιροῖς φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντας· αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίαι καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς κακίας συγκρύπτουσιν, αἱ δὲ δυσπραξίαι ταχέως καταφανεῖς ποιοῦσιν, ὁποῖοί τινες ἕκαστοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· ἐν αἷς ἡμῖν ἐπιδεικτέον ἐστίν, εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ἄμεινον τεθράμμεθα καὶ πεπαιδεύμεθα πρὸς ἀρετήν.

103 Ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἀνέλπιστον ἐκ τῶν νῦν παρόντων συμβῆναί τι τῶν δεόντων ἡμῖν. οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι πολλαὶ πράξεις ἤδη τοιαῦται γεγόνασιν, ἃς ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἅπαντες ὑπέλαβον εἶναι συμφοράς, καὶ τοῖς παθοῦσι συνηχθέσθησαν, ὕστερον δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ταύτας ἔγνωσαν μεγίστων
104 ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας γεγενημένας. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πόρρω λέγειν; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν τὰς πόλεις τάς γε πρωτευούσας, λέγω δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων, εὕροιμεν ἂν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν λαβούσας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ προδυστυχήσασαι πάλιν αὑτὰς ἀνέλαβον, ἐκ δὲ τούτων

the barbarians, did not flee nor suffer defeat, but laid down their lives on the spot where they were stationed,[a] acquitting themselves so nobly that even those who eulogize them with all the resources of art can find no praises equal to their valour.

Let us, then, remembering all these things, take up the war with greater vigour, and let us not delay in the expectation that others will remedy our present misfortunes, but since these have occurred in our own time, let us ourselves endeavour also to end them. It is just in such emergencies as these that men of worth must show their superiority; for prosperity helps to hide the baseness even of inferior men,[b] but adversity speedily reveals every man as he really is; and in adversity we of Sparta must show whether we have been in any wise better nurtured and trained to valour than the rest of mankind.

But indeed we are in no wise without hope that out of our present misfortunes may come a happy issue. For you are, I am sure, not unaware that ere now many events have occurred of such a nature that, at first, all regarded them as calamities and sympathized with those on whom they had fallen, while later everyone came to see that these same reverses had brought about the greatest blessings. But why need I mention remote instances? Even now we should find that those states which are foremost—Athens and Thebes, I mean—have not derived their great progress from peace, but that, on the contrary, it was in consequence of their recovery from previous reverses in

[a] *Cf. Paneg.* 90-92.

[b] For the thought compare Demosthenes, second *Olynthiac* 20.

τὴν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταστᾶσαν, τὴν δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι τηλικαύτην γεγενημένην ὅσην οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἔσεσθαι προσεδόκησεν· αἱ γὰρ ἐπιφάνειαι καὶ λαμπρότητες οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
105 ἀγώνων γίγνεσθαι φιλοῦσιν. ὧν ἡμᾶς ὀρέγεσθαι προσήκει, μήτε τῶν σωμάτων μήτε τῆς ψυχῆς μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔχομεν μηδενὸς φειδομένους. ἢν γὰρ κατορθώσωμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς ταὐτὸ καταστῆσαι δυνηθῶμεν, ἐξ ὧνπερ ἐκπέπτωκε, καὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων μᾶλλον θαυμασθησόμεθα, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἀνδραγαθίας καταλείψομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βουλομένους εὐλογεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπορεῖν ποιήσομεν, ὅ τι τῶν
106 πεπραγμένων ἡμῖν ἄξιον ἐροῦσιν. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι πάντες τῷ συλλόγῳ τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς γνωσθησομένοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν κοινῷ θεάτρῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διδοὺς ἔλεγχον ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τῆς αὑτοῦ φύσεως, οὕτω διακείσθω τὴν γνώμην.

107 [138] Ἔστι δ' ἁπλοῦν τὸ καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλωμεν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οὐ μόνον εὐδοκιμήσομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς ἡμῖν ἐξέσται ζῆν· εἰ δὲ φοβησόμεθα τοὺς κινδύνους, εἰς πολλὰς ταρα-
108 χὰς καταστήσομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. παρακαλέσαντες οὖν ἀλλήλους ἀποδῶμεν τὰ τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ μὴ περιίδωμεν ὑβρισθεῖσαν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ καταφρονηθεῖσαν, μηδὲ ψευσθῆναι ποιήσωμεν τῶν ἐλπίδων τοὺς εὔνους ἡμῖν ὄντας, μηδὲ περὶ πλείονος φανῶμεν ποιούμενοι τὸ ζῆν τοῦ παρὰ

war that one of them was made leader of the Hellenes,[a] while the other has at the present time become a greater state than anyone ever expected she would be. Indeed, honours and distinctions are wont to be gained, not by repose, but by struggle, and these we should strive to win, sparing neither our bodies nor our lives nor anything else which we possess. For if we succeed, and are able to raise our city again to the eminence from which she has fallen, we shall be more admired than our ancestors, and shall not only leave to our descendants no opportunity to surpass our valour, but shall make those who wish to sing our praise despair of saying anything equal to our achievements. Nor must you forget that the attention of the whole world is fixed upon this assembly and on the decision which you shall reach here. Let each one of you, therefore, govern his thoughts as one who is giving an account of his own character in a public theatre, as it were, before the assembled Hellenes.

Now it is a simple matter to reach a wise decision on this question. For if we are willing to die for our just rights, not only shall we gain renown, but in time to come we shall be able to live securely; but if we show that we are afraid of danger, we shall plunge ourselves into endless confusion. Let us, therefore, challenge one another to pay back to our fatherland the price of our nurture, and not suffer Lacedaemon to be outraged and contemned, nor cause those who are friendly to us to be cheated of their hopes, nor let it appear that we value life more highly than the esteem of all the world, always

[a] The Athenians won their second naval supremacy after the reverses of the Peloponnesian War.

109 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντες ὅτι κάλλιόν ἐστιν ἀντὶ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι, καὶ ψυχῆς ἣν οὐχ ἕξομεν ὀλίγων ἐτῶν πρίασθαι τοιαύτην εὔκλειαν ἣ πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα τοῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν γενομένοις παραμενεῖ, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μικροῦ χρόνου γλιχομένους μεγάλαις αἰσχύναις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περιβαλεῖν.

110 Ἡγοῦμαι δ᾽ οὕτως ἂν ὑμᾶς μάλιστα παροξυνθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ ταῖς διανοίαις ὥσπερ παρεστῶτας ἴδοιτε τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν παρακελευομένους μὴ καταισχῦναι τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ὄνομα, μηδὲ τοὺς νόμους ἐν οἷς ἐπαιδεύθημεν, μηδὲ τὰς μάχας τὰς ἐφ᾽ αὑτῶν γενομένας, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπαιτοῦντας τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἥνπερ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀμφότεροι δίκαια τυγχάνουσι λέγοντες.

111 Οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι δεῖ μακρολογεῖν, πλὴν τοσοῦτον, ὡς πλείστων τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πολέμων καὶ κινδύνων γεγενημένων οὐδεπώποθ᾽ οἱ πολέμιοι τρόπαιον ἡμῶν ἔστησαν ἡγουμένου βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἡμετέρας. ἔστι δὲ νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν, οἷσπερ ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἡγεμόσι χρώμενοι κατορθῶσι, τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων κινδύνων συμβουλεύουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις πείθεσθαι.

remembering that it is a nobler thing to exchange a mortal body for immortal glory, and to purchase with a life which at best we shall retain for only a few years a fame which will abide with our descendants throughout all the ages [a]—a far nobler course than to cling greedily to a little span of life and cover ourselves with great disgrace!

But I think that you would most of all be aroused to prosecute the war if in imagination you could see your parents and your children standing, as it were, beside you, the former exhorting you not to disgrace the name of Sparta, nor the laws under which we were reared, nor the memory of the battles fought in their time; the latter demanding the restoration of the country which their forefathers bequeathed to them, together with the dominion and the leadership among the Hellenes which we ourselves received from our fathers. Not a word could we say in answer; never could we deny the justice of either plea.

I do not know what more I need to add, save only this much—that while numberless wars and dangers have fallen to the lot of Sparta, the enemy have never yet raised a trophy over us when a king from my house was our leader. And prudent men, when they have leaders under whom they win success in their battles, should also give heed to them, in preference to all others, when they give counsel regarding impending wars.

[a] For the language *cf.* [Demosthenes], *Epitaphios* 27, and Hypereides, *Epitaphios* 24.

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